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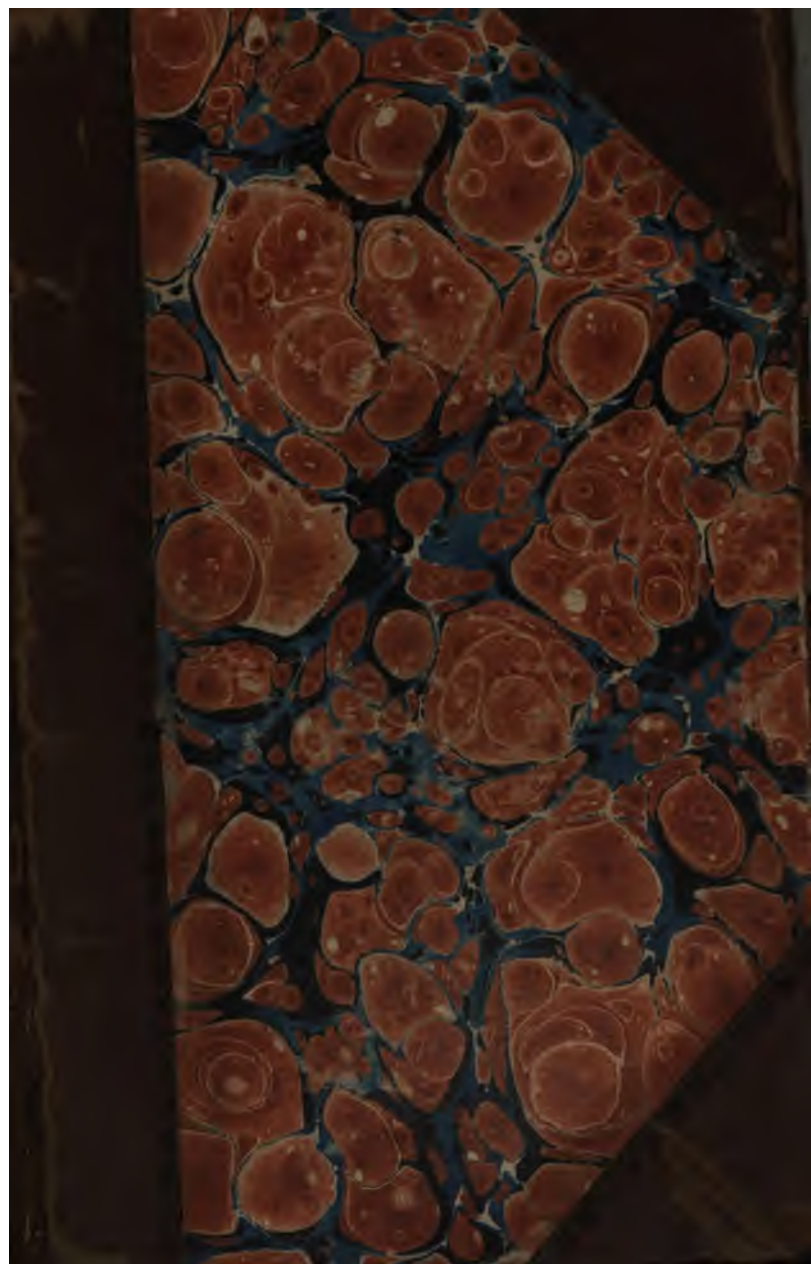
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THE
CIVIL HISTORY OF THE JEWS,
FROM
JOSHUA TO HADRIAN;
WITH A PRELIMINARY CHAPTER ON
THE MOSAIC HISTORY.

BY
THE REV. O. COCKAYNE, M.A.,
*OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE. AND
KING'S COLLEGE SCHOOL, LONDON.*

Ne quid cupidius, quam verius.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE principal object of this work has been to give a connected view of the events recorded, such as may serve to show the unity and integrity of the relation, and bring the facts before the mind with comprehensiveness and facility. As the original authorities are constantly in the hands of every Christian, and their elucidation has given rise to many discussions, it has been necessary to omit much that is familiar, and some points that cannot be asserted without argument.

The present publication may, it is hoped, contribute to the understanding of the Scriptures, and afford, by way of arrangement, some assistance to the student of Divinity; nor, perhaps, may it be without its use as treating of a portion of the general history of mankind.

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HISTORY OF THE JEWS.

CHAPTER I. INTRODUCTION.

I.

SOME portion of the obscurities which have dimmed our apprehension of Jewish history, have arisen from our ignorance of the geography of many of the countries embraced by it. The researches of Burckhardt, and those who have followed him, have removed many doubts, and ascertained the precise position of many Biblical sites; and under the powerful sway of Mehemet Ali, it was expected that a survey of the Holy Land would have been completed. It may be hoped that the situation of almost every town renowned in history is still capable of being recovered, though a lax government, which abandons the dominion of the country to the Arabs, would not be calculated to forward that object. It has seemed pertinent in this little work to add a few observations towards determining the locality of some names that still remain doubtful, or confirming that of such as are fixed with hesitation; and the publisher has incorporated maps, constructed from the original information recently communicated to the world, which, as they are independent of the work, will be moreover generally useful.

The civil annals of the children of Abraham may be considered as the skeleton of their religious history: the latter contributes the main interest and value to the subject, but the former, as historical, is antecedent and preparatory to the other, fully apprehended only by the higher principle of faith. The miracles which enter so largely into the religious relations of the people cannot be wholly separated from the events of their civil existence without the greatest violence; to remove them requires that the ancient records of the nation be overruled and annulled; and then, we have great and established consequences without assignable causes: millions fed without food, armies destroyed without a victor. Such, then, of the miracles as are interwoven with and inseparable from the political history, ought to find a place in it: such as are personal or local may remain for another method of study.

The civil history of a nation exists only while the people have a corporate or independent condition; in an age of slavery it sleeps: we shall therefore direct our chief attention to the times subsequent to the settlement of the Israelites in the land of Palestine, but illustrate the earlier period by a few suitable observations.

II.

No dense population filled the land where Abraham and Lot could choose their pasturage at pleasure, yet the nomadic life had been exchanged by many people, or even nations, for settlements and cities. Of Nimrod it is said, "And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel (*Babylon*), and Erech (*Andericca*), and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar (*Babylonia*). Out of that land went forth Asshur (*Assyria*), and builded Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen (Xenophon's *Larissa*, *La-Resen*), between Nineveh and Calah: the same is a great city*."

There were kings of the cities of Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim, and Zoar, in the plain of the Dead Sea, of Gerar in Philistia, of Salem (Jerusalem), of Shinar, Ellasar (interpreted Pontus), and Elam (usually Persia). The genealogy in the tenth chapter of Genesis names colonies of the Babylonians and Egyptians, and indicates that the Sidonians and Philistines were at that early age settled in the situations they held on the Mediterranean, of whom the former had come from the shores of the Indian Ocean^b, and the latter from Caphtor^c. And if such facts as these are not sufficient to convince us that civilization had made considerable progress before the patriarchal age, we shall

* The equivalents are from Bochart, *Phaleg.*, pp. 267, 27, 272, 291.

^b Herod., I. i.

^c *Cyprus*. Michaelis, *Spicil.*, p. 278, cited by Rosenm.; according to Gesenius, *Crete*. It seems there is a transposition the text in *Gen. x. 14*.

discover in their social and domestic life traces of many of the arts which contribute to comfort and to luxury! In Abraham's lifetime, or before, we have the purchase of a cave for sepulture very carefully and publicly attested, and current (pure) money of the merchant paid (by weight) for it^d, ear-rings (nose-rings) and bracelets of gold^e, jewels of silver and of gold^f, a veil for the women^g, making bricks and use of bitumen at Babel, digging wells^h, and slaveryⁱ. In Isaac's lifetime mention occurs additionally of sowing the land^j, a quiver and bow^k, and savoury meat^l. In Jacob's history we add mercantile exchange in spicery, balm, and myrrh^m, sheep-shearingⁿ, some astronomy^o, Joseph's particoloured coat, a signet^p, musical instruments^q, images^r, and ships^s.

Besides this, in Egypt, appears a regular civil polity: a captain of the guard, (Potiphar,) a prison where Joseph was confined, with a keeper, a chief of the butlers and a chief of the bakers, vestures of fine linen and a chain of gold^t, buying of corn for money, and a present from Jacob of balm, honey, (probably the inspissated juice of the grape,) spices, myrrh, pistachio-nuts and almonds, magicians^u, divination^v, interpreters^w.

^d Gen. xx. 16; xxiii. 16. ^e xxiv. 22. See Isaiah iii. 21.

^f xxiv. 53. ^g xxiv. 65. ^h xxi. 30; xxvi. 15.

ⁱ xxi. 10; xxiv. 35; compare xxxvii. 28, 36.

^j xxvi. 12. ^k xxvii. 3. ^l xxvii. 14.

^m xxxvii. 25. ⁿ xxxviii. 12.

^o Gen. xxxvii. 9. "The sun, the moon and the eleven stars."

Cf. Diodor. Sic., ii. 31.

^p xxxviii. 18. Pharaoh's ring was probably a signet. xli. 42.

^q xxxi. 27. ^r xxxi. 19. ^s xlix. 13.

^t xli. 42. ^u xli. 8. ^v xlii. 5.

tion of dreams (desired, as if usual, by the chief butler^v), embalming^x, seventy days' mourning^z, wagons and chariots^a. Perhaps, above all, the existence of a settled dynasty is striking; for Pharaoh, whom Joseph served; was, it seems, under age. "God hath made me a father to Pharaoh," says Joseph^b, "and Jacob blessed Pharaoh^c."

The Israelites brought a greater knowledge of the arts from Egypt. The variety of materials, of colours in cloth^d, the prevalence of golden ornaments among the people^e, the polished mirrors for the women^f, the precious stones of the Ephod and breast-plate engraved with the names of the twelve tribes, and the plate on the mitre or turban of the high priest, inscribed HOLINESS TO THE LORD, quite satisfy us of the advanced condition of society at the period of the Exodus. Brass was largely and artificially used in the tabernacle^g; but not before; and the ancients had brass of very fine quality; for among the vases brought by Ezra to Jerusalem, are "two vessels of fine copper, precious (bright) as gold^h." In some points, later ages present a striking difference. The horse and mule came into use about the time of David and Solomon, much later than the ass and camel, which formed part of the patriarchal riches.

^w xl. 8. ^x L. 2. ^y L. 3. ^z xlv. 19. ^a xli. 43.

^b xlv. 8. ^c xlvii. 7. ^d Exod. xxvi. ^e xxxii. 3.

^f xxviii. 8. ^g xxv. 3. ^h Ezra viii. 27.

ⁱ Gen. xxii. 3. Exod. iv. 20. Josh. xv. 18. Judges x. 4; xii. 14. 1 Sam. xxv. 20. 2 Sam. xvii. 23; xix. 26. Psalm xxxii. 9. 1 Kings i. 33. 2 Sam. xviii. 9. Bochart, *Hierozoic.*, vol. i., p. 181.

III.

The lives of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, were those of Oriental patriarchs; their significance is religious, not political: in this family the pure worship of God was preserved. These ancestors of the Hebrew nation dwelt in the south of Canaan; but the youth of Jacob was spent in Aram Naharaim.

The two following extracts throw much light on Jacob's servitudes to Laban. Mr. Burckhardt says^a, "I once met with a young man who had served eight years for his food only; at the expiration of that period, he obtained in marriage the daughter of his master, for whom he would otherwise have had to pay 700 or 800 piastres (thirteen pence). When I saw him, he had been married three years; but he complained bitterly of his father-in-law, who continued to require of him the most servile offices, without paying him anything." Again^b, "The Arabs of the Djebel Haouran (*Montes Auranitidis*), are the shepherds of the people of the plains, who intrust to them, in summer and winter, their flocks of goats and sheep, which they pasture during the latter season amongst the rocks of the mountains. In spring, the Arabs return the flocks to their owners, who sell a part of them at Damascus, or make butter from the milk during the spring months. The Arabs receive for their trouble one-fourth of the lambs and kids, and a like proportion of the butter. Casual losses in the flocks are borne equally by both parties."

^a *Travels in Syria*, p. 297. London, 1822. ^b *Ibid.*, p. 308.

These customs will be more interesting, if we can admit that Jacob's residence was then near the Haouran as is proposed in the note at the end of this chapter.

IV.

The history of Joseph, and the removal of Jacob into Egypt, are familiar to the memory of every one. In the early times, Memphis and Thebes were the centres of separate kingdoms*, and the Egypt of the Pentateuch is the lower kingdom, that of Memphis. Goshen was assigned for the residence of the new people. The time afterwards occupied in reaching the Red Sea, gives us ground for ascertaining the situation of Goshen, not far from the isthmus of Suez, on the eastern side of the Nile, and near the borders of Arabia. The conclusion is confirmed by other indications. When Jacob and Joseph met it was in Goshen, whence we know that it lay between Egypt and Canaan. On (*Heliopolis*), and Zoan (*Tanis*)^b, were in that neighbourhood^c. Goshen, eastward, was bounded by the desert; on the west, it would probably not extend to the soil watered by the inundation of the Nile, inasmuch as that was fit only for the growth of grain, and consequently unsuited to a pastoral community. The small proportion of corn that was raised by the Israelites was not produced, we know, without much toil and pains. The waters of the Nile inundations were conducted, as they are still, to the remoter parts by canals, and, to

* Diodor., lib. 1. ^b Numbers xiii. 22. Psalm lxxviii. 12. 43.

^c Further, to the same purpose, see Joshua x. 41; xi. 16; xvi. 51, *Septuag.* Gen. xli. 28.

supply the land with the fertilizing moisture, were raised by artificial means to a sufficient height. This was done by a machine combining the helix and the treadmill, which is described by Philo^d, the Egyptian Jew, of Caligula's reign, in the following terms:—"In the middle of it are steps, on which the husbandman mounts, when he wishes to water his fields, and of necessity he revolves with it; but that he may not fall, he constantly grasps some fixture with his hands, by holding to which his whole body is sustained. So he uses his hands for feet, and his feet for hands; for he stands by his hands, whose office it is to work, and works by his feet, whose office it is to stand." This or a like contrivance is unquestionably meant in Dent. xi. 10. The promised land is described with all its excellencies: one of which is that the rains shall fall from heaven, sparing the necessity for so much labour: "For the land whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it *with thy foot*, as a garden of herbs;" (that is, carefully,) "but the land whither ye go to possess it, is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven; a land which the Lord thy God careth for."

The Egyptians who lived within the limits of the inundation had less trouble, says Herodotus, in procuring their crops, than any nation in the world, for they merely turned in their swine to cover the seed after the river subsided*. Now it is evident that

^d Vol. i., p. 410, ed. Mangey.

* Herod., ii. 14.

the Hebrews' agricultural labour in Egypt is contrasted with their ease in Canaan for the worse, and the deduction is clear, that Goshen did not enjoy the advantage of spontaneous irrigation. When called "the best of the land of Egypt," it must be understood as the part best suited to Jacob, who was not "a tiller of the ground," but a "keeper of sheep and oxen."

V.

The words, "Another king arose that knew not Joseph," are paraphrased by Josephus as meaning that the kingdom had passed to another dynasty. He describes the occupations now imposed on the Israelites as cutting trenches, walling the cities, raising embankments against the river around them, and building the pyramids. This is his commentary on the words "all manner of service in the field." The diet of persons engaged upon such works is recorded by Herodotus^a: he says, from an inscription on it, that in building the pyramid of Cheops, sixteen hundred talents of silver were spent in *syrmæa*, onions, and garlic for the workmen. *Syrmæa* was a vegetable purge, peculiarly Egyptian^b: they used it three days successively every month^c. In the lusting for flesh at Kibroth-Hattaavah^d, the murmurers say, "We remember the fish which we did eat in Egypt freely: the cucumbers, and the melons, the leeks, and the onions, and the garlic." These two

^a Herod., ii. 125.^b Aristoph., *Pac.* 1253, and Schol.^c Herod. ii. 77.^d Numbers xi. 5.

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The words, "Another king arose that knew not Joseph," are paraphrased by Josephus as meaning that the kingdom had passed to another dynasty. He describes the occupations now imposed on the Israelites as cutting trenches, walling the cities, raising embankments against the river around them, and building the pyramids. This is his commentary on the words "all manner of service in the field." The diet of persons engaged upon such works is recorded by Herodotus^a: he says, from an inscription on it, that in building the pyramid of Cheops, sixteen hundred talents of silver were spent in *syrmæa*, onions, and garlic for the workmen. *Syrmæa* was a vegetable purge, peculiarly Egyptian^b: they used it three days successively every month^c. In the lusting for flesh at Kibroth-Hattaavah^d, the murmurers say, "We remember the fish which we did eat in Egypt freely: the cucumbers, and the melons, the leeks, and the onions, and the garlic." These two

^a Herod., ii. 125.^b Aristoph., *Pac.* 1253, and Schol.^c Herod. ii. 77.^d Numbers xi. 5.

supply the land with the fertilizing moisture, were raised by artificial means to a sufficient height. This was done by a machine combining the helix and the treadmill, which is described by Philo^d, the Egyptian Jew of Caligula's reign, in the following terms:—"In the middle of it are steps, on which the husbandman mounts, when he wishes to water his fields, and of necessity he revolves with it; but that he may not fall, he constantly grasps some fixture with his hands, by holding to which his whole body is sustained. So he uses his hands for feet, and his feet for hands; for he stands by his hands, whose office it is to work, and works by his feet, whose office it is to stand." This or a like contrivance is unquestionably meant in Dent. xi. 10. The promised land is described with all its excellencies: one of which is that the rains shall fall from heaven, sparing the necessity for so much labour: "For the land whither thou goest in to possess it, is not as the land of Egypt, from whence ye came out, where thou sowedst thy seed, and wateredst it *with thy foot*, as a garden of herbs;" (that is, carefully,) "but the land whither ye go to possess it, is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven; a land which the Lord thy God careth for." The Egyptians who lived within the limits of the inundation had less trouble, says Herodotus, in procuring their crops, than any nation in the world, for they merely turned in their swine to cover the seed after the river subsided. Now it is evident that

^d Vol. i., p. 410, ed. Mangey.

^e Herod., ii. 14.

the Hebrews' agricultural labour in Egypt is contrasted with their ease in Canaan for the worse, and the deduction is clear, that Goshen did not enjoy the advantage of spontaneous irrigation. When called "the best of the land of Egypt," it must be understood as the part best suited to Jacob, who was not "a tiller of the ground," but a "keeper of sheep and oxen."

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^a Herod., ii. 125.^b Aristoph., Pac. 1253, and Schol.^c Herod. ii. 77.^d Numbers xi. 5.

passages correspond well: bread is omitted, which those savoury vegetables were intended to season.

VI.

The texts of Scripture are variously understood*, as defining the space of 430 years for the sojourn of the Israelites in Egypt, or otherwise of 215 years, so as to make 430, reckoning from the call of Abraham; each period is supported by suitable arguments, and these are pretty well balanced on both sides. Mr. Clinton decides for 215.

VII.

The chosen people were at length released from bondage by a series of miracles. In profane authors accounts remain, wrecks of more ancient records, amidst all the inconsistencies of which, the real history of the Exodus has left visible traces. Josephus^a has preserved some fragments of Manetho, an Egyptian priest, relating how one of the early monarchs collected all lepers and impure persons, and set them to work in stone quarries on the eastern side of the Nile,—how a leader, a priest of Heliopolis (*On*) gave them ordinances, chiefly characterised by their opposition to Egyptian rites, and how they were ultimately driven out, and pursued through the desert to the borders of Syria.

Another author quoted by Josephus gives a similar account, making much mention of leprosy and cutaneous disease, and of a determined suppression of idolatry. It would seem, indeed, that these or like narra-

* Exod. xii. 41; Gal. iii. 17.

^a *Adv. Apion.*, i.

tives were generally accepted by such as were ignorant of the Jewish sources of information, an ignorance which was only removed by the progress of Christianity. Tacitus^b repeats the same story, from, he says, numerous consenting authorities, and tells us that the swine, being subject to maladies of the skin, is for that reason untouched by the Israelites.

One of the greatest miracles of the Exodus was the passage of the Red Sea. Diodorus^c has a traditional account from the Ichthyophagi, that, "on occasion of a great ebb, all this part of the sea (near them) was turned into land, the water removing to the opposite quarter, and the dry ground at bottom appearing; then a great flood coming restored the bay to its former state." He may have obtained this story when he visited Egypt, B.C. 60-56^d, and though it be not otherwise significant, it shows that a recollection of great events was kept up on the spot where they occurred.

From the situation of Mount Sinai and the proximity of Egypt, there is no doubt that the Israelites crossed the western horn of the Red Sea. Two places are pointed out as the scene of the miraculous passage, the pretensions of both which must be tried by the sacred text alone. Certainly Arabian traditions are not of any weight: M. Niebuhr tells us that "the very same Arabs, who previously had stated to him their belief that the Israelites had crossed at Aïjun Musa, now placed the passage in the neighbourhood

^b Tac., *Hist.* V. 3.

^c Diod., iii. 40.

^d Diod., i. 48.

of Girondel.* The sea at Girondel, by a hasty measurement of his†, was five German miles across, equal to more than twenty English, and therefore too wide; for the Israelite multitude, like a great caravan, slow in its movements, passed in one night, and before the morning watch, that is, perhaps, in eight or ten hours; this place of transit is also too distant from the head of the gulf, (six German miles, or twenty-eight English,) for the host turned towards the western shore of the sea, only on the last day of march. The place which seems to have the better title, is in the bay of Suez, and very near that town. Diodorus‡ describes this portion as a mile and a half or near two miles wide. Pietro della Valle, dating from Cairo, says, "We arrived at a place in Arabia called the ferry, where are some boats, and where people cross to Suez on the western shore. Those who would walk, must go round the extremity of the bay, I know not how many miles, but by sea the distance is not greater than from the mole at Naples to Pausilipo, two miles." Pet. Belon tells us that "this Red Sea is only a narrow canal, not wider than the Seine between Harfleurs and Honfleurs." M. Niebuhr says that the part of the bay on which Suez stands seems no wider than a river, though it is a mile and a half across. He adds that the shores of this bay are decidedly sandy, and that he saw no coral till between Hammam-Faraun and Tor. Forskal also remarks the failure of marine plants and the absence

* *Reisebeschr.*, vol. i., p. 228; *Voyage*, vol. i., p. 184.

† *Idem*, p. 230, p. 185.

‡ *Diod.*, iii. 38.

of Coral. Coral, had there been any, might be supposed an impediment^b.

The waters here have been for centuries receding, and are, of course, not so deep as formerly. Kolsum, famous among Arabic writers, was built when ships could come higher up the bay; it is now deserted for Suez. "Opposite Suez," says M. Niebuhr^c, "we find in all this region many muscles and spiral shells in the sand, and it appears that the sea has retired here considerably."

VIII.

When the Israelites left Egypt, their divine Captain and Guide suffered them not to go "by the way of the land of the Philistines, though that was near:" and was, indeed, the direct and usual road towards Syria from Egypt, bringing travellers through the desert, round the angle of the Mediterranean, and by the Philistine country to the promised land. From the extreme points over the desert, Herodotus^b has reckoned it three days' journey, and he relates how it was crossed by Cambyzes and his army. Ptolemy Philopater, marching against Antiochus the Great, reached a convenient encampment on the fifth day from Pelusium^c. Titus, with part of the army that destroyed Jerusalem, accomplished the same distance in four days, but

^b Della Valle, Lett. xi; Belon, *Observat.*, lib. ii. c. 58; Niebuhr, *Descript. Arab.*, p. 410; Forskal, *Flora Egypt.*, p. lxxxii., cited by Rosenmüller on Exodus, xiv. 21, 22.

^c *Reisebesch.*, vol. i., p. 225; *Voyage*, vol. i., p. 181.

^a *Exod.* xlii. 17. ^b Herod., iii. 5. ^c Polyb., V. 80.

boundary on the east, partakes, of course, of ~~the~~ mountainous character, their deep valleys and ~~precipitous~~ ^{precipitous} ~~pieces~~ : and, besides, between the horns of the Red Sea is Mount Sinai, whose "upper nucleus, composed almost entirely of granite, forms a rocky wilderness of an irregular circular shape, intersected by many narrow valleys, and from thirty to forty miles in diameter. It contains the highest mountains of the peninsula, whose shaggy and pointed peaks, and steep, shattered sides, render it clearly distinguishable from all the rest of the country in view." The parts of the desert not thus occupied are full of low hills naked and desolate, but yet not utterly destitute of vegetation, nor incapable of cultivation. It is now the property of the roaming Arab tribes, who change their situation frequently, but are nevertheless confined within certain limits, and find their whole subsistence in that desert. It would appear very difficult to devise by what means the Israelites were supported in that region if it was not by miracle. They had 603,550^b men above twenty years of age, (not reckoning Levites,) and their whole number could not have been under two millions. The present Bedouin population of the Sinai district, between the horns of the Red Sea, has been calculated at about four thousand, and "in years of dearth even this small number is at a loss to find pasturage for their cattle." How then were two millions to live, and for forty years? The country was then a desert,

^a Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria*, p. 573. ^b Exod. xxxviii. 26.

^c Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria*, p. 561.

as it is now, "a land of deserts and of pits, a land of drought and of the shadow of death, a land that no man passed through, and where no man dwelt^d." The literal interpretation of the Scripture affords the only answer—that their supply was miraculous.

The manna on which the children of Israel fed during their travels has been identified with the munn, a gummy juice oozing from the leaves and twigs of several sorts of trees, (and not unknown in Calabria and other parts of the world.) "The munn," we learn from Lord Lindsay, "has a strong aromatic taste like turpentine, they keep it in casks, melt it when required, and spread it on their bread like honey." Now dismissing the question of identity, which is nevertheless a great question, let that proposition be laid down formally:—"Two or three millions of persons lived for forty years, principally upon an aromatic gum or juice gathered from the scanty shrubs of the desert." An hypothesis so repugnant to facts cannot for a moment control our minds.

As here we seem to touch upon the questions raised concerning the Mosaic narrative, a discussion into which our present purpose forbids our entering, but which we would not wholly omit, we are willing to give place to a quotation that will suffice to show how forcible are the arguments which have been adduced to prove the Pentateuch to be really the work of Moses. "The constitution of the tribe of Levi," says Dr. Graves, "must to a certainty have been fixed before or

^d *Jerem. ii. 6.*

^e *Travels*, vol. i., p. 311. 1838.

at the original settlement of the Jews in Canaan, because we cannot otherwise account for one entire tribe being excluded from the possession of landed property, living not in one body as each of the remaining tribes did, but in cities dispersed through the entire land of Canaan, even on both sides the river Jordan, and possessing amongst these cities all those which were appropriated as cities of refuge to fugitives in consequence of homicide. We cannot, I affirm, account for this but on the supposition that the tribe of Levi had been set apart before the settlement of the Jews in Canaan, to be supported by tithes and offerings instead of land, and that they had consented to the arrangement. Here then is a full proof that the entire system concerning the tribe of Levi, their distribution, the tithes and offerings by which they were to be maintained, must have been promulgated and admitted before the settlement of the Jews in Canaan; it follows, therefore, that every part of the law of Moses respecting these points, was coeval with Moses himself. Can we then doubt whether it was written and published by Moses? What inferior authority would have been competent to establish so singular an arrangement, unfavourable to the temporal interests of the Levites whom it excluded from landed property, and to those of the remaining tribes whom it loaded with the payment of tithes and offerings?" Similar reasoning has been employed in support of the miracles of the

¹ Graves, *On [the four last] Books of the Pentateuch*, vol. I., p. 364.

Exodus:—"The three great annual feasts, when all the males of the nation assembled at the house of God, were solemn commemorations of the miraculous deliverance from Egypt; of the miraculous promulgation of the law from Sinai; and of the manifold displays of Divine protection and assistance by which the Hebrew nation were put in possession of the promised land[†]."

X.

The encampment next to Elim was in the wilderness of Sin. Here the murmuring children of Israel were provided in the morning with manna, and in the evening with quails. The supply of quails may be discovered preserved in a broken tale of Diodorus*, who derived it, of course, from the Egyptians, of whom only he had sought information. He is speaking of Actisanes, an Ethiopian who conquered Egypt, (and so changed the dynasty,) and whose time is prior to the pyramids. "His government was mild, and he adopted a method of his own to avoid the punishment of death. Convicted criminals were deprived of their noses, and settled in the extremities of the desert, where they founded a city called from that circumstance Rhinocolura. Here in the most unfavourable situation, and with bitter water, they invented a way of obtaining a livelihood. They cut reeds in the vicinage, split them, and made lines which they set up along shore for many stadia, and so they caught *quails enough to live on*, for these birds come in great flocks from the

[†] Graves, vol. i., p. 167.

* Diod., i. 60.

sea." If we consider that sixteen hundred years elapsed between the Exodus and Diodorus, who wrote after Julius Cæsar's death, we shall not wonder at the inaccuracies of the story.

The traveller "inquires in vain among the Arabs for the names of those places, where the Israelites had sojourned during their progress through the desert; none of them are known to the present inhabitants^b," nor can we illustrate the miracles that attended them. These prodigies would not come to the knowledge of the Egyptians, in the same way as what occurred in their immediate neighbourhood, and consequently the Greeks, who were curious about Egyptian, not about Jewish antiquities, could know nothing of them. The assertion that profane authors before Christ did not even indirectly obtain information from the Scriptures, might be probably made good; and it will be seen that this present defect of illustration, when we leave the range of Egyptian witnesses, falls in with that assertion; and thus sacred and profane history spring from separate fountains, and flow in separate streams, and yet they unite in certain particulars to prove that the miracles of the Exodus are real events.

And if we look a little further, it will be evident that the profane testimony which has been adduced, treats these facts as extraordinary and out of the common course of nature. For if you divest them of their miraculous character, and pare them down to common occurrences, you annul the only motive that

^b Burekhardt's *Travels in Syria*, p. 443.

could make them worth recording. It will not be enough to say that there are tides in the Red Sea, and that flocks of quails are natural to Arabia, things which conclude nothing; nor otherwise to extenuate the miracles: for it will not be credible that the Egyptians should be at the pains to chronicle in their sacred annals, circumstances foreign to themselves and of no substantial meaning, power, or import.

XI.

If ever the history of the Exodus can be illustrated by itself, it must be remembered that it is not historically complete; it is rather a collection of chapters, each containing a miracle or a revelation. It is, in the estimation of a Biblical critic^c, just such an account as might be expected of Moses, a man occupied with a thousand matters of high value, and committing facts and laws to writing at separate intervals of time. "One consideration," says Mr. J. J. Blunt^d, "we must take along with us in our inquiries, that the books of Moses are in most cases a very incomplete history of facts—telling something and leaving a great deal untold—abounding in chasms which cannot be filled up—not, therefore, to be lightly esteemed even in their hints, for hints are often all that they offer."

After Elim, as appears by the catalogue of camps, the Israelites next pitched by the Red Sea, which, as we have seen, was close at hand; then three places

^c Rosenmüller, *Prolegom. Pentat.*, p. 33.

^d Blunt's *Veracity of the Pentateuch*, p. 5.

intervened, and they "encamped at Rephidim, where was no water for the people to drink." The ingenious author just quoted^c illustrates the truth of the miracle wrought here by the succeeding event. "And the people thirsted there for water: and the people murmured. . . . And the Lord said unto Moses. .

. . Behold, I will stand before thee there upon the rock in Horeb, and thou shalt smite the rock, and there shall come water out of it that the people may drink. And Moses did so in the sight of the elders of Israel.

. . . Then came Amalek," the narrative continues, "and fought with Israel in Rephidim." "I cannot but suspect, that there is a coincidence in this case between the production of the water, in an arid wilderness, and the attack of the Amalekites—that though no hint whatever to this effect is dropped, there is nevertheless the relation between them of cause and consequence. For what, in those times and those countries, was so common a bone of contention as the possession of a well?" &c. It seems, indeed, not improbable that the true cause of the attack has thus been assigned, and the reality of the miracle further asserted.

XII.

The Israelites remained at Mount Sinai nearly twelve months^d, receiving the tables of the law and the commandments of God, intended to make them "a peculiar people." Here the tabernacle was constructed, the

^c Numb. xxxiii. 14.

^d Blunt's *Veracity of the Pentateuch*, p. 123.

^e Exod. xvi. 1; Numb. x. 11.

golden calf was idolatrously worshipped, like Apis and Mnevis in Egypt, and Nadab and Abihu, sons of Aaron, who brought strange fire in their censers, were destroyed^b. The people left Sinai in the spring of the second year, and arrived at Kadesh-barnea, in the wilderness of Paran, before the promised land, at the time of the first ripe grapes^d, that is, in the beginning or middle of September. This was a journey of only eleven days^c, though they occupied four months. In the course of it, fire went forth at Taberah, quails were given in wrath at Kibroth-hattaavah, and Miriam was punished by leprosy at Hazeroth. In Kadesh-barnea the camp remained many days. From it were sent out the spies, in number twelve, who searched the land of Canaan for forty days, and as far as Rehob, near Sidon, which is quite in the northern extremity. It is not improbable that, to avoid notice, the party was divided, and the Hebrew text favours the supposition. They brought as a specimen of the fruits of the land, pomegranates, figs, and a bunch of grapes of a size unusual even there, and so large that it was carried "between two upon a staff," because it was too heavy to be borne by one person without injury to it. This fine bunch would be the more striking, as there were scarcely any grapes grown in Egypt. The fertility of Palestine is well known: it was peculiarly productive of the fruit of the vine. Ignatius of Rheinfelden, in 1656, saw in

^b See the last unhappy incident explained in Blunt's *Veracity of the Pentateuch*, p. 113.

^c Numb. x. 11.

^d Numb. xiii. 20.

^e Deut. i. 2.

Syria bunches of grapes an ell long; Neizschitz, at the end of August, in Palestine, others half an ell long, with grapes as big as two of his knuckles; Schulz saw bunches twelve pounds in weight. The Duke of Portland, in 1780, gave as a present a bunch ten pounds ten ounces in weight; and Reland heard from a European merchant of the strictest integrity, who had resided at Ramah, that they occurred of nine pounds weight¹. It may therefore be justly asserted that the account given by the spies was quite correct, as regarded the fertility of Canaan; and, indeed, they brought experimental proof of it: but they doubted the power of the God of Israel, and by unfaithful exaggerations infused the same distrust into the minds of their countrymen. By their report the children of the giants were of such a size, that, compared with them, they were in their "own sight as grasshoppers," and the cities were "very great," and "walled up to heavens," and, said they, "We are not able to go up against the people; for they are stronger than we." The language of Caleb and Joshua was very different: "Let us go up at once and possess it, for we are well able to overcome it;" and when they found the people influenced by the exaggerations of their companions, their reasoning was most just. They attempted not to dispute by the validity of their own testimony, but appealed to the Almighty Power that had been their guide so long: "If the Lord delight in

¹ From Rosenmüller, on Numbers xiii. 23; Reland's *Palestine*, p. 351.

² Deut. i. 28.

us; then He will bring us into this land, and give it us; a land which floweth with milk and honey. Only rebel not ye against the Lord, neither fear ye the people of the land, for they are bread for us: their defence is departed from them, and the Lord is with us; fear them not."

XIII.

The time that elapsed between this first attempt upon Canaan and the passage of the brook Zered*, which introduced the Israelites to their final settlement in the promised land, was thirty-eight years: and by the addition of a year and a half before their arrival at Kadesh-barnea, with a few months consumed there, the whole space of forty years is made up. While they lay at Kadesh, they proposed to the Edomites, that they might be allowed to pass through the land of Edom, in exact order, and without the least trespass. The hills of this people were a continuation of the Syrian Lebanon running down the Mediterranean coast, and stretching into Arabia, in which part the settlements of the Edomites lay. As the route ordained for the Israelites entered Palestine by crossing the Jordan, it would be shortened by a passage through these fastnesses; but the request was refused, and it became necessary to pass round the mountains by taking a circuit southwards, inasmuch as the claims of kindred protected the Edomites from force:—"and the soul of the people was much discouraged because of the way:"

* Deut. ii. 14.

Their march led them all round Mount Seir, the range of Arabia Petræa, which extended directly from the Dead Sea to the eastern horn of the Red Sea, and by Ezion-geber, the sea-port on the gulf of Akkaba; hence they are said to "take their journey by the way of the Red Sea," and "to compass Mount Seir many days^b." It was in their progress southwards that the plague of fiery serpents occurred, and the cure of their bite by an especial and significant token. The miracle had a visible testimony down to the reign of Hezekiah^c, in the preservation of the brazen serpent which Moses had made, and the idolatrous respect in which it was held by the Israelites, a continuing consequence which can scarcely be accounted for, if the event it commemorated were not truly miraculous.

XIV.

After completing the circuit of the mountains of Edom, they marched northwards through Moab and Ammon, who lay eastward of the Dead Sea, in a district as full of rocks, ravines, and precipices, as Edom, without molesting them. They then reached the Amorites. These people lived in a plain bounded by the Jordan westward, the Arnon southward, and northward by the Jabbok^a, which falls into the Jordan midway between the Dead Sea and that of Galilee. This plain, a conquest of the Amorites from Moab, and now the Belka, was a worthy portion of their inheritance. A

^b Deut. ii. 1.

^c 2 Kings xviii. 4.

^a Josephus, vol. i., p. 211.

modern traveller^b, after mentioning recent struggles for it among the Arab tribes, says, "The superiority of the pasturage of the Belka over that of all Southern Syria, is the cause of its possession being thus contested. The Bedouins have this saying, 'Thou canst not find a country like the Belka.'" Captains Irby and Mangles have figured an ear of wheat from Heshbon, in the weight and number of the grains double of the produce of England. The victory over Sihon the Amorite king gave his country into the hands of the Israelites, and it was afterwards the lot of Reuben. According to Josephus, the season was that of harvest.

XV.

The next conquest was the territory of Og, king of Bashan. This lay still on the east of the Jordan and sea of Galilee, but north of the Jabbok, which divided it from the Amorites already subdued. It was otherwise called Gilead, and Gaulon, and now Djolan^a. On the north it was bounded by the lofty range of Hermon. In aspect it was a plain, and famous for the abundant herbage it afforded to the cattle. In the Bible, "the fat bulls of Bashan, the fatlings of Bashan, the kine of Bashan," are images of wealth and over-fed pride. Jerome^b describes it as very rich in pasturage. Recent accounts fully agree in ascribing this excellence to it.

^b Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria*, p. 368.

^a As Gebel—Djebel; and Gerasa—Djersah; cf. "Golan in Bashan," Deut. iv. 43; Josh. xx. 8; xxi. 27; 1 Chron. vi. 71. Reland's *Palestine*, p. 815.

^b On Amos iv.

It is included in the description of the Haouran (*Aranitis*), which is contiguous to it eastward, as "covered (May 4) with the richest verdure of wild herbage." "To the north," continues our authority, "was the Djebel Sheikh (Mount Hermon), covered with snow; to the east the fertile plains of Djolan, clothed in the blossoms of spring," &c. In later times of the Roman empire it supported a teeming population: its surface is now crowded with ruins of towns and villages, with temples, theatres, colonnades, bridges, tanks, paved streets regularly laid out and distinctly traceable, and many of the houses even now in good preservation. So Moses "smote Og the king of Bashan, and his sons, and all his people, until there was none left him alive: and they possessed his land."

XVI.

After this, the people were collected in the plains of Moab (or the Amorites), on the east of Jordan, opposite Jericho. Here occurred the affair of Balaam, the idolatrous and lascivious orgies of Baal-Peor, and the destruction of the Midianites, whose situation is not well marked: we learn only that they adjoined Moab, and seem to have been tributary to Sihon. Here also the tribes were numbered; the males above twenty

^c Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria*, p. 274.

^d Lord Lindsay, vol. ii. p. 131, writing to a dear relative, uses familiar terms: "Hauran is an immense plain, very rich and fertile, sometimes slightly undulating, sometimes flat as a pancake, with here and there rounded hills like dumplings."

^a Cf. Gen. xxxvi. 35.

^b Numb. 31. 8; Josh. xiii. 1.

years old, exclusive of the Levites, amounted to 601,730; And here Moses died.

NOTES.

HARAN, or CHARRAN. There is nothing in the history of Abraham, which can lead us to place Haran, or Charran, in Mesopotamia: on the contrary, St. Stephen^a says, "The God of glory appeared to our father Abraham, when he was in Mesopotamia, *before he dwelt in Charran*. . . . Then came he *out of the land of the Chaldæans, and dwelt in Charran*." And the book of Genesis is express to the very opposite conclusion, namely, that it was nearer than any part of Mesopotamia. Jacob left Padan-Aram^c, and Haran^d, and Laban, and came to Mount Gilead, where Laban overtook him after seven days' journey^e. The place where they made a covenant was called also Mizpeh^f. Thence he came to Mahanaim^g, whence he sent messengers to Esau in Edom. From Mahanaim he went over the brook Jabbok^h, the place was called Penielⁱ; thence he came to Succoth^j, thence to a city of Shechem^k, thence to Bethel^l, thence to Bethlehem-Ephratah^m. Every part of this march is defined. If Laban reached Gilead in seven days from Padan-Aram, Jacob reached

^a Acts vii. 2, 4. ^b See Gen. xi. 31. ^c Gen. xxxi. 18.

^d Gen. xxix. 14. ^e Gen. xxxi. 23.

^f Gen. xxxi. 49. See Josh. xi. 3, 8; Judges xi. 29.

^g Gen. xxxii. 2. See ten other texts, *e. g.* 2 Sam. xix. 32.

^h Gen. xxxii. 22. See Numb. xxi. 24; Deut. ii. 37; iii. 16, &c.

ⁱ Gen. xxxii. 30. See Judges viii.; 1 Kings xii. 25.

^j Gen. xxxiii. 17. See Judges viii.; 1 Kings vii. 46.

^k Gen. xxxiii. 18. See xiv. 18; Shechem is Sychem.

^l Gen. xxxv. 6.

^m Gen. xxxv. 19.

it in ten, for he started three days before Laban^a; but it will not be asserted that he came to Gilead, with his children and women and cattle, in ten days, from Carra, where Crassus fell, at the foot of the Armenian mountains. When we look for a place which will answer the signification of Padan-Aram, at a suitable distance, we find it in the plain of Damascus (Eliezer was of Damascus); and if we seek for a trace of the name in modern Syria, we have it at Cara, not far north of Damascus: and this is the spot which we propose to identify with the Haran of Abraham. Thevenot says^b, "Cara is a good town, having a rivulet running by it. There are a great many ruins to be seen there, which are a sign that heretofore it hath been somewhat more considerable^c."

ARAM-NAHARAIM; or, *Aram of the two rivers*. The discussion of the situation of Haran and of Aram-Naharaim is properly one, and every word that tends to elicit the truth respecting either will apply equally to both, for Haran was in Aram-Naharaim. Let it be observed^a, that Terah, with his whole family, Abraham and Lot on the one side, and Nahor and Laban on the other, removed from Ur of the Chaldees to Haran. Then Abraham and Lot removed further still, but Nahor and Laban remained in Haran. Therefore, when Abraham's steward went to Aram-Naharaim, to the city of Nahor, he went to Haran^b. So also of Jacob. But as we have already surmised that Haran was Cara, near Damascus, therefore we must identify Aram-Naharaim with Aram-Damasek, as the compa-

^a Gen. xxxi. 22.

^b *Travels*, part ii., c. v., p. 26. ^c See also part i., lxi., p. 222.

^a From Gen. xi. 31.

^b Gen. xxiv. 10.

ri-son of 1 Chron. xix. 6, with 2 Samuel, perhaps implies^c, or they must be contiguous. To satisfy the signification of the words, we want two rivers, which immediately suggest themselves in Abana and Pharpar, or in the Orontes and Pharpar (*Barrada*). But the argument of most cogency is a combination; we must find in the highlands (*Aram*), a field (*Padan*), with two rivers (*Naharaim*), where wells are required^d, in a situation that may be called the east^e, and all within ten or seven days of Gilead. Cara answers every one of these demands. It is in Aram (*Damasek*) in the plain, with two rivers descending from Antilibanus, yet on the edge of the desert, so that wells must be wanted; it is on the eastern limit of Syria (*Συρία*) and of Aram, and about 150 miles (by the compasses) from Gilead, while Carræ is three times the distance. This last circumstance makes the difference between fifteen and forty-five miles a day; it was not possible that Jacob could cover the latter space for so many days continuously. The pastoral family were doubtless compelled, as elsewhere, to choose the inferior situation on the edge of the desert, because the best, the watered, the fruitful lands, were preoccupied. Damascus itself is a very paradise.

It is not the least advantage of the interpretation here advocated, that it relieves us from all necessity of bringing in a king of Mesopotamia, to invade Israel and be conquered by Othniel, without invading any other people or leaving any trace of his presence.

^c Compare title of Psalm lx.

^d Gen. xxiv. 13, seq.; xxix. 2, seq. Carræ, on the contrary, was on the banks of a river.—Plutarch, *Crass.*, xxxi.; Wyld's Modern Map.

^e Gen. xxix. 1. Compare xxv. 6; Numb. xxiii. 7.

Perhaps the Scripture does not imply any interference of trans-Euphratesian powers with the affairs of Syria previous to the Assyrian invasion; but see Gen. xiv. 9.

Moreover, the application of the word Aram is confined to the mountain district of Lebanon. We hear nothing of Aram-Naharaim after the secondary kingdoms of Lebanon were merged into Damascus, which then becomes Aram, without qualification. So, also, on the other hand, when Assyria, Babylon, &c., come to be mentioned, what are they called? Is it ever said, that they formed part of Aram-Naharaim, or of Padan Aram?

Extensive denominations belong not to the infancy of knowledge. So far from having a common title in the age of Abraham, Mr. Rennell observes, (*Geog. Herodot.*,) that "the term Mesopotamia, as applied to the tract between the Euphrates and Tigris, was not in use among the Greeks till after the Macedonian conquest."

The ancient authorities, not including, however, the Alexandrine Pentateuch, nor such as follow it, appear to agree with the view here taken. Nicolaus Damascenus, the secretary of Herod the Great, and historian, places Abraham at Damascus:—Νικόλαος δὲ ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν ιστοριῶν λέγει οὕτως 'Αβράμης ἐβασίλευσε Δαμασκοῦ, &c. Then Josephus adds, of his own authority, Τοῦ δὲ 'Αβράμου ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ Δαμασκήνῃ τὸ ὄνομα δοξάζεται, καὶ κόμη ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δείκνυται, 'Αβράμου οἰκησις λεγομένη. Comp. e the LXX. translator in 2 Sam. xx. 14, ἐν Χαρρὶ x. 6; Judges iii. 8, Συρίας ποταμῶν

Justin, or Trogus Pompeius, drew from other sources similar information (xxxvi. 2.) "Judæis origo Damas-

^f See Pliny, V. 12.

^g Apud Josephum, vol. i. 29.

oenæ; Syriæ nobilissima civitas. Post Damascum Aælus, mox Adores et Abraham et Israhel reges fuere."

The story of Balaam is more intelligible, on the supposition that he came from a nearer point, and from the city of Nahor, where some knowledge of God would be preserved.

CHAPTER II.

BEFORE we cross the Jordan we shall endeavour to collect concerning the nature of the region beyond it so much as is necessary to our purpose. Immediately on the north of the Holy Land, Lebanon, (*Laban, white,*) and Hermon, (called by the Arabs Djebel el Sheikh, the mountain of snow,) both even in that climate covered with perpetual snow, rise into alpine ranges, and give to the district on the south of them a mountainous character which extends even to the Red Sea, and beyond that, to the coffee mountains of Arabia. In Palestine itself no hills were so high as to be covered with snow; but the country was throughout marked by mountain features, by precipices, rocks, and defiles. In Galilee the plains were of some extent, say ten miles across, intersected by lines of hills. Carmel descends almost perpendicularly into the sea, and Tabor stands alone in the plain near the lake Gennesaret. In Samaria the country is nowhere plain, the surface is an alternation of gentle valleys and hills easy or abrupt. It presents even now "some of the loveliest scenery," and "richest verdure ever beheld."

The whole face of Judea is covered with hills, or if you will, mountains, leaving only a few level spots, and on the coast a strip of plain land averaging about twelve miles broad. Its aspect is rather rough and stony than magnificent.

In a landscape of this kind, the mountain passes are always of great consequence: they direct the route of armies, offer points of defence for fortification, and are contested successfully against superior forces. The first remarkable defile that calls for our attention is the road from Sychem to Jerusalem. It runs nearly north and south, and connects those towns by a sufficiently direct line. Mount Ephraim, which divided Judea from Samaria, is traversed by no other practicable pass, and this, therefore, is the only means of communication. We find it used by Joshua and Titus, by Jacob, by Joab, by modern travellers, and referred to in the intercourse between the Israelite and Judaite kings. Sometimes it expands and allows space for one or two towns, sometimes it contracts to a very narrow passage: at one place the road is cut with great labour over a precipice. The importance of some knowledge of this defile will appear by the very names of the towns in it. Six miles north of Jerusalem was Gibeah with Ramah*, then Michmash, and the passage of Michmash, between the two rocks Bozez and Seneh, nine miles from Jerusalem; next Bethel, Bethaven, and Ai, twelve miles; then Gophna, fifteen miles; and, five miles beyond Gophna, the ravine expands into a spacious, fertile, and delicious valley of Samaria, which conducts the traveller to Jacob's well near Sychem. This pass from Jerusalem to its outlet is twenty-one miles in length. Nearer to Jerusalem than Gibeah, not perhaps on the road, but still on the north

* Isai. x. 28.

were Mizpeh, the gathering place of the Israelites, Nob the city of the priests, and Anathoth the birth-place of Jeremiah. The public highway lay along the bottom of the valley, and by this route Isaiah^b describes the approach of a hostile army^c, and marks the situation of the towns very clearly. "He is come to Aiath^d, he is passed to Migron^e, at Michmash he hath laid up his carriages (*baggage*); they are gone over the passage (*of the rocks*): they have taken up their lodging at Geba: Ramah is afraid, Gibeah of Saul is fled." The sides of the narrow valley were once clothed with most luxuriant vineyards. The soil for the vines was carried up the mountain side by the peasants, and to prevent its being washed down by the rains was kept up by little walls, which Radzivil, in 1583, and Maundrell, in 1697, saw rising one above another like rows of seats in a theatre, even up to the very summits. The modern corn grounds are terraced in the same manner.

^b Isai. x. 28.

^c Not the approach of Sennacherib. He first appears at Lachish, and therefore came by the coast.

^d Aiath, אֵיָת, Aija, אֵיָע, or Ai, אֵי.

^e In 1 Sam. xiv. 2, the LXX. and Josephus do not take Gibeah for a proper name, but render it "on the top of a hill, on a high hill."

^f Geba was close to Ramah, ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ τόπῳ, Josephus, vol. i., p. 456. It will be seen in the note on the birth-place of Samuel that Gibeah was close to Ramah. It is therefore difficult to suppose that Geba and Gibeah were distinct. The whole passage from Isaiah should be compared with Nehemiah xi. 31. "The children also of Benjamin from Geba dwelt at Michmash, and Aija, and Bethel, and their villages, and at Anathoth, Nob . . . Ramah."

^g Perhaps Radzivil and Maundrell mistook what they saw:

Another very important pass is that of Bethoron; along it lay and still lies the high road from Jerusalem to Joppa, the only part of the coast to which there was a convenient access. It extends from Gibeah^a to Emmaus, twenty-two miles from Jerusalem¹, and debouches upon a plain in which stood, within a semi-circle of twelve miles round Emmaus, the cities Gath, Ashdod, Ekron, Jamnia, Gezer, Joppa, and Lydda, names which, from their proximity to this high road and their consequent accessibility, occur frequently in Jewish history. The towns which lay on the road, but among the mountains, were Kirjathjearim, or Baalah, Bethoron (the house of the hollow), Bethshemesh, and Emmaus. Hence the ark of God, returning from Ekron, came first to Bethshemesh,—where the men were reaping in the valley, and where they took the jewels of gold out of the coffer and placed them on a great stone, some fragment detached from the hills above—and then to Kirjathjearim. As in other cases, the defile varies in width; the valley of Elah commencing six miles from Jerusalem is long and narrow, and in part of it the road lay over precipices and hollow gulleys. In the early history this pass stands in special connexion with the Philistine towns, and

the aspect is not enough south for vineyards. Maundrell, p. 64, March 25; Radzivil, *Ieresol. Peregr.*, June 25.

^a Gibeah was common to the two valleys. The legion from Emmaus joined Titus coming from Gophna, at Gibeah. Josephus, vol. ii., p. 321. Cestius stopped at Gibeah, Γαβᾶ, on his way down to Bethoron. Joseph., ii. 205.

¹ Reland fixes Emmaus, (otherwise Nicopolis,) and determines it to be different from the Emmaus of St. Luke. Reland, *Palest.*, p. 426.

when the small principalities were broken up by growth of larger empires, it was chosen for military purposes in preference to that of Gophna, though it is so direct.

Besides these two passes none other existed open to the north. There was, however, a public highway eastward from Jerusalem to Jericho; but it was so intricate, craggy, and dangerous, that it was never attempted by an enemy. Pompey, indeed, marched that way, but he came in peaceably. This is the valley of Zeboim, or the way of the wilderness. Bahurim, from which Shimei came out to curse David, was a village on this route^k.

Southward lay a valley by Bethlehem, Bethzur, and Hebron, which has place in the warfare of the Maccabees, and is often visited by travellers.

The miraculous passage of the Jordan, a considerable river for those climates, took place on "the tenth day of the first month," or about the end of March. The stream, like others which rise in the mountains of hot countries, is of variable depth: in the height of summer its waters are low. But March is a rainy month, and its flood is then rapid and deep. David's men "went over Jordan in the first month, when it had overflowed all its banks^l." For, "in the winter it inundates the plain in the bottom of the narrow valley^m;" though it "never rises to the level of the upper plain, which is

^k Compare 2 Sam. iii. 16.

^l 1 Chron. xii. 15.

^m A quarter of an hour broad, and we reckon three miles to an hour.

at least forty feet above the level of the river. It is fordable in many places during the summer, but the few spots where it may be crossed in the rainy season are known only to the Arabs^a. Mr. Maundrell was at Jericho, the place of the Israelites' passage, on the 30th of March, and though he had had no rain for five days^b, he says "the water was very turbid and too rapid to be swam against, and in depth it far exceeded my height." Shaw reckoned it when he was there, in the spring of 1722, as thirty yards wide and three deep^c. Lord Lindsay, just before the wheat harvest, found "the upper bed still moist from the floods^d." No bridge was ever built across the Jordan, down to the time of the Empress Helena, and no one, we think, ever heard of any boats, but one ferryboat, that carried David across. It appears, therefore, clear enough from the very locality that the crossing of the Israelites is not to be accounted for, upon any other grounds than those supplied by the sacred text. Lest, however, some one wise above measure should suspect that the crossing was not in the first month, we may notice that no invading army ever moves before the rains, nor ever defers its advance till harvest is past. The wheat harvest of the Holy Land is in May, the barley harvest at the close of April^e.

^a Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria*, p. 344.

^b So we learn by an expression in p. 102, Oxford edition of 1740.

^c P. 374.

^d Vol. ii., p. 65.

^e The Jews were often in great difficulties about offering the first-fruits of barley at the passover, which falls a fortnight or three weeks before the main crop is—not cut, but—plucked up

After crossing the Jordan on the tenth day of the first month, the people encamped at Gilgal; east of Jericho, where they ate the passover on the fourteenth day, and partook of "the old corn of the land;" with reference to the harvest that was just coming in. Here the manna ceased.

For the miraculous fall of Jericho the reader is referred to the original account, for it has been our purpose not to transfer what we have not the means to illustrate. After the destruction of the city, and the curse on the man that should rebuild, not the houses, but the walls, the people, as it appears upon mature consideration, must have removed to another Gilgal, by the "champaign" country, "beside the plains of Moreh," near Shechem (*Sychem*), and here, perhaps, they gained the victory over the king of Gilgal, only faintly alluded to.

Ai was next destroyed: it was accounted small because its inhabitants numbered only about 12,000 persons. Its ruin was but delayed a short time by the transgression of Achor and the flight of the Israelites with the loss of thirty-six men.

The position of Ai is distinctly marked. It was in the pass of Gophna, near Bethel, about twelve miles from Jerusalem. To attack Ai the Israelites must come by the valley either north or south; but as they

by the roots: they were obliged to seek a single sheaf in the hottest of their valleys, or even to defer the festival by intercalating a month. The crossing of the Jordan and the passover coincide.

* This Gilgal is mentioned 2 Sam. xix. 15, 40.

* Deut. xi. 30.

* Joshua xii. 23.

had not passed Gibeon and Jerusalem it follows that they approached Ai by the north, most probably from their camp at Gilgal near Sychem'. If they pursued their route along the pass, they must necessarily soon reach Gibeon; it was only seven miles off, and there was no turning aside to the right hand or to the left. The Gibeonites knew this, and seeing extermination so close at hand anticipated the attack by submission. By a curious deception they succeeded in obtaining terms of mercy. "They took old sacks upon their asses, and wineskins old and rent and bound up; and old shoes and clouted upon their feet, and old garments upon them; and all the bread of their provision was dry and mouldy." Representing themselves as ambassadors from a far country, they obtained an alliance confirmed with an oath, and when the Israelites came to their cities on the third day from Gilgal, the pledge thus obtained saved their lives.

Jerusalem lay next in order, marching southwards, and the king, instead of proposing submission, applied to the surrounding chieftains threatened equally with himself, only more remotely. And it so happened in the event that he saved Jerusalem; for, though his arms failed in the field, the current of war was turned westward. He succeeded in collecting four other kings of the Amorites, who, resolving to punish the defection of

¹ Deut. xi. 30. Not the other near Jericho. As for Gibeon, it is here evident that at least it was in the pass of Gophna: but the Amorites fled down Bethoron; it was consequently at the confluence of the two defiles. But Gibeah was at the confluence also. Hence Gibeon and Gibeah are the same. See 2 Sam. xxi.

Gibeon encamped before it. Their cities lay in the stony uninviting valleys, which are now visited by travellers in what is called the desert of St. John, and the hill country of Judea, south-west of Jerusalem and north-west of Hebron. Joshua marched all night from Gilgal, and came upon the allies at Gibeon suddenly; which again makes it probable that Gilgal near Sychem was the place of his camp at that time, being distant about fifteen miles*. The kings were discomfited "before Israel:" their flight naturally, as their territories lay, took the direction of the valley of Bethoron, which lay nearly westward from Gibeon (*Gibeah*) to the coast. Miracles increased the slaughter: the sun and the moon stood still, and the Lord rained great stones upon them from heaven. The five kings were every one taken and executed. Their cities, Libnah, Lachish, Eglon, and Hebron, with Debir, were captured; but if we may take Caleb's expeditions against Hebron and Debir for an example, they fell at separate intervals, of months perhaps, not days, though the story passes rapidly from one to another.

It does not appear by how long a time the various events of Joshua's command were divided. Among the tribes west of Jordan, Judah first received its inheritance, in the south, which was subdued earliest, and Caleb's lot was not apportioned till he was eighty-five years old, six years after the passage of the brook

* From Gibeon to Gilgal near Jericho seems much more. From Gibeon to Jerusalem 6, to Jericho 18, to Gilgal 5: total 29.

Zered^a. Josephus gives five years to the conquest of the whole of Canaan. Perhaps the lots of Ephraim and Manasseh were conquered next.

The northern districts between Carmel and Lebanon were not acquired till after the southern. The nature of the country, which in after times facilitated the distinction of Judah and Israel into two kingdoms, now equally divided the Canaanites into two confederacies. "Joshua made war a long time with all those" northern "kings." The tabernacle was set up at Shiloh, and the people assembled there, when Joshua upbraided them, "How long are ye slack to go to possess the land which the Lord God of your fathers hath given you?"

The league among the kings of the north, comprehending the districts afterwards called Galilee, was headed by the king of Hazor (in Naphtali). It included both mountaineers and men of the plain, the latter with "chariots of iron," which were the heavy cavalry of the earlier ages, and reckoned very formidable. "And they went out, they and all their hosts with them, much people, even as the sand that is upon the sea-shore in multitude, with horses and chariots very many." The place they chose for the engagement was at the "waters of Merom," the small lake through which the Jordan passes before it reaches the sea of Galilee. Their defeat was followed by a long pursuit to "Great Zidon" (westward), and the "valley of Mizpeh eastward." Hazor itself, "the head of all those kingdoms," was "burnt with fire." The loss of

^a Caleb's age. Josh. xiv. 7, 10.

the battle, however, was not decisive of the contest: "the cities stood still in their strength."

After the dissolution of the two leagues of the South and the North "the land rested from war," and for "a long time the Lord gave rest unto Israel from all their enemies round about." Joshua died at the age of a hundred and ten, thirty years after the conquest began.

The successes of Joshua had not been complete. Every tribe had towns still in the possession of the original inhabitants. These seem to have been in the plains, the choice parcels of ground, protected by the chariots of iron which were of no use in the mountains. Judah "drove out the inhabitants of the mountain, but could not drive out the inhabitants of the valley" (the Philistines), "because they had chariots of iron. . . . And the Amorites forced the children of Dan into the mountain: for they would not suffer them to come down to the valley," (the plain). So hard indeed was this tribe pressed, that a great portion of them, or all of them, afterwards migrated from the neighbourhood of Ashdod and Joppa in the south, to the sources of the Jordan in the north. The whole of the towns of the coast continued in the hands of the Philistines and Phœnicians, and never permanently fell under the dominion of Israel. Bethshan, Ibleam, Megiddo, Taanach, occupied the heart of the country and the richest portion of the soil; they were hostile; Bethshan was unsubdued at the time of the battle of Gilboa. Other towns in Galilee were in the hands of the enemy; so that in truth the Hebrews were unquestioned proprietors only of the stony Judea

and Mount Ephraim, and even here Jerusalem was an important exception. The victors, carrying all before them in the field, were unprovided with any sure means of attacking fortified places. Jericho was taken by a miracle, Ai by an ambuscade, and others probably by assaults. An effectual method came into use in David's time, and assisted him in consolidating the kingdom.

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Joshua	1:100

CHAPTER III.

WHEN death had removed Joshua, and "the elders that overlived" Joshua, there followed a time of great reverses and distress: "there arose another generation after them, which knew not the Lord, nor yet the works which he had done for Israel. And the children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord, and served Baalim; and they forsook the Lord God of their fathers, which brought them out of the land of Egypt, and followed other gods, of the gods of the people that were round about them, and bowed themselves unto them, and provoked the Lord to anger. And they forsook the Lord, and served Baal and Ashtaroth. And the anger of the Lord was hot against Israel, and he delivered them into the hands of spoilers that spoiled them, and he sold them into the hands of their enemies round about and they were greatly distressed." What is related of Micah, shows that he resorted to the establishment of an idolatrous chapel, with its priest and silver image, as a source of profit; and it implies, therefore, a prevalence among the people of the grossest heathen superstitions. The emigrants of Dan were an example of the general idolatry; they robbed Micah of his priest and idols, and took them away for their own worship. The men of Ophrah, Gideon's town, had an altar and grove of (a) Baal; and after Gideon's death, Baal-Berith (*Zeὺς ὀρκίος*, *Dius*

fidius) was worshipped in Israel. The idolatry was, however, not simple, but manifold: "they served Baalim and Ashtaroth, and the gods of Syria (*Aram*), and the gods of Zidon, and the gods of Moab, and the gods of the children of Ammon, and the gods of the Philistines."

The first foreign oppressor into whose hand they were delivered, was Chushan-rishathaim, king of Aram-Naharaim^a, who held them in subjection eight years. In a previous note I have proposed for the consideration of the reader, an opinion that the territories thus described formed a small principality adjacent to Damascus. Othniel, Caleb's nephew, rescued them from this enemy.

The second conqueror was Eglon, king of Moab, whose name, derived from Eglā, *a young bull*, is an indication of the occupations of his people^b. He collected allies, Ammon and Amalek, and "smote Israel," that is, defeated them in battle, and put them to tribute eighteen years. On one occasion, "the people that bare" the tribute were headed by Ehud, a man not likely to be suspected of mischief, for he was "shut of his right hand^c." Having contrived to gain a private audience of Eglon, he drew a dagger a cubit long from his side, plunged it into the king's body, and escaped to Mount Ephraim. There he collected men, and taking the fords of Jordan, slew ten thousand men of Moab, all men of valour, "and the land had rest fourscore years."

The third foreign ruler was Jabin, king of Hazor, in

^a See Note on Chapter I.

^b See 2 Kings iii. 4.

^c Marginal rendering of English Bible.

Canaan (the lowland) or Galilee of the Gentiles, 14000 had nine hundred chariots of iron, and twenty years¹ mightily oppressed the children of Israel." Barak and Deborah collected ten thousand men against him, and "went up to Mount Tabor," an isolated conical hill in the plain of Esdraelon, where Sisera, the general of Jabin's army, met them. Barak descended from the hill and attacked Sisera, on the banks of the Kishon, to his utter discomfiture. According to Josephus, the Israelites were encouraged and assisted by a violent storm of thunder and rain. "They fought from heaven; the stars in their courses fought against Sisera. The river of Kishon swept them away,—that ancient river, the river Kishon." Sisera himself "fled away on his feet," and taking refuge in the camp of the wandering Kenites, he received at the hand of Jael, to quench his thirst, a draught of an intoxicating beverage prepared from camel's milk, and lay dead by the "hand of a woman." It appears not improbable that we may place here the exploit of Shamgar, who in the song of victory is named as the hero of the battle with Jael the heroine. The weapons with which the Israelites fought were evidently not the regular weapons of war; these had been taken from them as a precaution against their rising. "Was there a spear or shield found among forty thousand in Israel?" Shamgar, the son of Anath, we are told, "slew of the Philistines" (who might be allies of Jabin) "six hundred men with an ox-goad," one of the rustic weapons which, in default of better,

¹ Bochart, *Hierox.*, vol. i., p. 77.

would be available for the little band of Deborah and Barak. The formidable construction of the ox-goad, at once a prick to urge the oxen, and paddle to clear the plough, is fully explained by Maundrell*.

The Midianite servitude came next in order; it was calamitous. "When Israel had sown . . . the Midianites . . . and Amalekites, and the children of the East" (called otherwise, I believe, the Aram Naharaim) . . . "came up and destroyed the increase of the earth . . . and left no sustenance for Israel, neither sheep nor ox nor ass. For they came up with their cattle and their tents, and they came as grasshoppers for multitude; for both they and their camels were without number; and they entered into the land to destroy it." The effects of the inroad were very severe. "Israel was greatly impoverished, and . . . because of the Midianites, the children of Israel made them the dens which are in the mountains, and caves and strong holds." When the angel of the Lord appeared to Gideon, he was threshing wheat "in the wine-press, to hide it from the Midianites," and not in the threshing-floor. If we refer the ten years' absence of Ruth's family to the seven years' domination of the Midianites, which, counting the number of names in the genealogies between Jacob and David, will appear not improbable, we may understand better the force of the expressions: "Now it came to pass in the days when the judges ruled, that there was a famine in the land;" and after "about ten years," Naomi heard, "how that the Lord had visited his peo-

* *Journey*, p. 110.

ple in giving them bread;" and indeed we cannot easily find another famine of so long duration, with which the era of the book of Ruth might be made to agree. The appointed deliverer of his countrymen was Gideon. After many encouraging signs, he mustered the northern tribes and surveyed the great Arab encampment, situate so as to afford the command of the fertile plains of Galilee. He attacked them by night with only three hundred men, divided into three companies, every man carrying a trumpet, and a pitcher which contained a lamp. The noise of the trumpets, the war cry, the three hundred lights, produced such an alarm in the Arab host, that, not knowing who was an enemy, who a friend, they turned their swords against one another, and 120,000 men were left dead on the field. Gideon followed up his victory by a sudden attack on the small remnant of 15,000, and so "discomfited all the host." His success was complete, and his spoils considerable; "the weight of the golden earrings," alone, "was a thousand and seven hundred shekels of gold."

After Gideon, Abimelech, Tola, and Jair, who judged Israel, the country, at least that part east of Jordan, fell under the power of the Ammonites, a people that lay eastward between the two tribes and a half and the desert. Jephthah, the Gileadite, known for his blind vow, was the instrument of deliverance. The conflict took place in Gilead, a district intersected by valleys and streams, belonging to the high and generally level ground of Reuben, Gad, and Manasseh. Jephthah was followed by Ibzan, Elon, Abdon, and Samson.

The connexion of the tribes in these varied and troublous times could not well be very intimate or unbroken. The Benjamites were punished, perhaps soon after Joshua's time, by the united force of the rest, almost to extermination. Their offence, in the eyes of their countrymen, had been a grievous and odious breach of the deservedly-respected laws of hospitality. Jephthah had a difference with the Ephraimites, and smote "forty and two thousand" of them at "the passages of Jordan." Such were some of the natural consequences of the neglect of the worship of God, who, in himself one, and to his people the one and only LORD, was also the sole bond of unity among them; and so divided by idolatry from Him, they were also politically dissevered among themselves, and enemies of their own kindred.

During the time of Samson, the Philistines, inhabitants of five towns in the south, were the most troublesome enemies of Israel. Their command over the portion of the country nearest to them seems to have been very complete and regular, and it continued till David's time. "Knowest thou not that the Philistines are rulers over us?" said the men of Judah to Samson. They disarmed their Hebrew subjects, and lest they should "make them swords or spears," they forbade the trade of the smith, and confined it to themselves. "In the day of battle there was neither sword nor spear found in the hand of any of the people that were

¹ Lot offers his daughters to insult, for the sake of protecting his guests from violence.

with Saul and Jonathan." And they had garrisons in Benjamin and Judah, especially in the defile of Gophna.

We have ground for supposing that the influence of some of the judges was limited to the districts around them. The exploits of Samson were all performed on the Philistine border. Eshtaol, Timnath, Ashkelon, Gaza, were either towns of Philistia, or near it. Barak and Gideon mustered only the northern tribes, Zebulun, Naphtali, &c. The circuit of Samuel did not extend above twenty miles from his own house. He "went from year to year in circuit to Bethel and Gilgal, and Mizpeh, and judged Israel in all those places; and his return was to Ramah."

NOTE.

It is useful here, and essential to an understanding of the transactions of the reign of Asa, that we inquire into the situation of Ramah. The affairs of Asa and Baasha show that it was "in via qua Judæi ad Israelitas proficisci solebant," says Reland, that is, it was somewhere in the pass of Gophna. The company in which it appears in Isaiah x. 29, combined with the purport of the sentence, proves the same. Eusebius, in Onomastico, says it was six miles from Jerusalem. The narrative in Judges xix. comes to the same point. A Levite of Ephraim sets out from Bethlehem on his journey home; his road, therefore, lies through the pass of Gophna. He refuses to stop at Jebus (*Jerusalem*), though the day was far spent (he did not start till it was growing to an end, and had performed only six miles), but pushes on to Gibeah or Ramah; these,

therefore, lay in his road, and might be reached before dark. Accordingly, Josephus tells us^a, that Gibeah was 50 stadia, six miles, or 30 stadia^b, four miles, or 20 stadia^c, two miles and a half from Jerusalem. Of these the largest number is most correct. Ramah, of course, was much the same; and so Hieronym., ad Hos. cap. 5, cited by Reland: Rama quæ est juxta Gabaa, in septimo lapide a Jerosolymis sita. It is clear, therefore, that Ramah was beside Gibeah, in the pass of Gophna.

The residence of Samuel is Ramah^d, Ramatha^e, or Ramathaim Zophim, with the article, Ha-ramathaim Zophim^f; in Jerome, Armatha Sophim, the equivalent of Ἀρμαθήμ σειφά in Eusebius, (see also Σωφείμ), and Arimathea of Joseph, perhaps. These words are from Ramah, a height, and Zaphah, *he looked abroad, espied*. Maundrell^g says, "We came to the top of a hill from whence we had the first prospect of Jerusalem. Rama, anciently called Gibeah of Saul, being within view on the right hand, and the plain of Jericho, and the mountains of Gilead on the left." Also, "And the watchmen (Zophim) of Saul, in Gibeah of Benjamin, looked^h." Samuel's residence was therefore the same Ramah near Gibeah.

Josephusⁱ has Sapha, or Σκοπὸς, from σκέπτομαι, *I look out*; on the road northwards, for Titus comes through it: but he twice says it is seven stadia, not one mile from the city, and uses words which can hardly apply to a distant prospect^j:—ἐνθεν ἢ τε πόλις ἤδη κατεφαίνετο, καὶ τὸ τοῦ ναοῦ μέγεθος ἔκλαμπρον, κ. τ. λ., Zophim was a name for prospects^k.

^a Vol. ii. p. 202.

^b Vol. ii. p. 320.

^c Vol. i. p. 284.

^d 1 Sam. xxv. 1.

^e 1 Sam. i. 19, &c. ex adjecto locali, R.

^f 1 Sam. i. 1.

^g *Journey*, p. 66.

^h 1 Sam. xiv. 16.

Compare 1 Sam. xxii. 6; Ezra ii. 26.

ⁱ Vol. i. p. 581.

^j Vol. ii. p. 321.

^k Numb. xxiii. 14.

CHAPTER IV.

THE Israelites, conscious of the disadvantages that resulted from their divisions, were anxious again to collect the force of the nation under one head ; and as the unanimity which would have resulted from the acknowledged public worship of one God in one sanctuary was destroyed, they demanded of Samuel, the seer or prophet, that he should appoint a king. Samuel chose, but under Divine direction, a Benjamite, Saul. He displayed, at his election, none of the qualities that command respect, but "hid himself among the stuff." He was, therefore, "despised, and they brought him no presents." It happened, however, that Jabesh, a town of Gilead, was beleaguered by the Ammonites, and the news reached Saul, from his townsmen, as he "came after the herd out of the field." He collected his nominal subjects by sending round portions of the flesh of a yoke of slain oxen, with a threat, "Whosoever cometh not forth after Saul and after Samuel, so shall it be done unto his oxen." With this extemporaneous muster he attacked the Ammonite camp by surprise before day-break, and "slew them until the heat of the day," and they "that remained were scattered, so that two of them were not left together." The victory reconciled the people to his government, and they renewed their allegiance by greater formalities, and "made Saul king before the Lord, in Gilgal." The second year of his reign was marked by a considerable advantage gained

over the Philistines near Gibeah and Michmash, in his own tribe of Benjamin. The first aggression was the destruction of a Philistine garrison in Geba (probably Gibeah^a) by Jonathan: this led to further hostilities, and the Philistines mustered in greater numbers. In the pass of Gophna, about the middle of it, was a very narrow passage^b, called the passage of Michmash; this was alternately the post of one or other of the contending parties, and the scene of an engagement in which the Philistines were defeated. The victory of Saul was followed by a long pursuit: the enemy, after clearing the defile in which the battle had occurred, took the road down the valley of Bethoron, the nearest practicable way to their own towns, and the Hebrews followed them to the valley of Aijalon, the westerly part of the ravine, a distance of more than twenty miles^c. This second successful achievement of Saul, or rather Jonathan, seems to have promoted his interest, and to have been an assistance and prelude to other advantages. He attacked his enemies on every side: the Moabites, the Edomites, the Ammonites, the Kings of Zobah, the Philistines, and "whithersoever he turned himself he vexed them." Thus he sowed the seed which was matured by David into a full harvest of prosperity.

^a As in Asa's war it certainly was Gibeah, or close to it.

^b Isaiah x. 29.

^c Aijalon in Dan. Josh. xix. 42., xxi. 24. Later authorities (Reland quotes them) place Aijalon only three miles from Gibeah. That would reduce the pursuit to (7 + 3) ten miles. The Gilgal of these chapters of 1 Samuel, must, for the sake of local connexion, be Gilgal near Sychem, at the northern end of the pass of Gophna. Deut. xi. 30.

The king subsequently engaged in an expedition against a great camp of the Amalekites of the desert, in which he took Agag their king alive; but not fulfilling his commission, as pronounced by the prophet, a sentence was passed against him, that the sovereign power should be transferred into another family. The person divinely chosen for the succession was David, who distinguished himself by slaying the enemy's champion in the next battle against the Philistines, which, as before, was fought in the south, in the tribe of Judah, in the valley of Elah, believed to be a part of the defile of Bethoron^d. The distinction that David had thus earned was distasteful to the jealous and distorted mind of Saul; and by various plots, at first secret, and then undisguised, he attempted to murder the young hero, and thus drove him to a fugitive life, not very dissimilar to that of a captain of robbers. His band, however, had employment enough against the enemies of Israel, and exercised its prowess in the protection, not oppression, of his countrymen. His various haunts and hiding places were on the Arabian border of Judah, where the rocks, mountains, and numerous caves, afforded him concealment and rude shelter, while the endless wilderness covered his flight in case of hot pursuit. The king, knowing perhaps that he had been anointed by Samuel, was so fiercely incensed against him, that he thought it necessary to remove his father and mother into the land of Moab; and twice it happened, in the midst of Saul's search for him, that he

^d Radzivil, *Ieros. Peregr.* P. 120.

was able to prove his loyalty by sparing the life of the king, sleeping at his feet. At last David took refuge with Achish, the Philistine king of Gath.

Hitherto we have observed that the inroads of the Philistines took place, as far as our information goes, on the south of the Holy Land, and consequently chiefly harassed Judah, (Simeon), and Benjamin; but the battle of Mount Gilboa, in which Saul fell, was contested in the plain of Jezreel, within the limits of the after-named Galilee, and was won by a league, which must have comprehended a greater number of confederates than could be found in the five towns, Gath, Ekron, Ascalon, Gaza, and Ashdod, because there were some included in it, who were not familiar with the proceedings of Achish. The conflict was altogether in favour of the Philistines, and utterly destructive to the house of Saul: he and his three sons, one of whom was Jonathan, were killed, and their bodies insultingly exposed on the wall of Bethshan (also called Scythopolis), a town between the Jordan and the field of battle, and an exception to Joshua's conquests. The corpses were removed by the inhabitants of Jabesh, who had been seasonably relieved by Saul in the commencement of his reign, and as Bethshan was friendly to the Philistines, the service was one of some risk.

An episode, relating to David, in this place, illustrates very strongly the nature of the warfare of the time, and indicates a very close similarity between the manners of the Arabs of our own age, and those of the same region then. While David was absent with

Achish in the north, a party of the nomade Amalekites of the desert, came upon his village or town of Ziklag, stripped it of every article that could be carried off, made prize of all the women, and retired without leaving a trace of their course. David, dismissed from the Philistine host as an ally too doubtful to be trusted, returned sooner than had been expected, and found his home a desolation. He immediately started into the desert in pursuit, and fortunately met with an Egyptian slave, who had been left behind by the Amalekites in their rapid retreat. This poor wretch, "who had eaten no bread, nor drunk any water, three days and three nights," knew the hollow where the plunderers had resolved to pitch their tents and enjoy the fruits of their inroad, out of the reach of inquisitive eyes. He conducted the injured Hebrews to the spot, and David not only recovered his own spoil, but added moreover the whole property of the Amalekite camp, to such an amount that he was able to send round presents to the friends who lived near his former haunts by the Dead Sea.

It deserves our attention, that Saul endeavoured to introduce some improvement in the arms of his subjects: "he bade them teach the children of Israel the use of the bow." We have already seen that the weapons of the multitude were such as almost unassisted nature suggests. The Benjamites for some time successfully resisted an overpowering force, because they had amongst them "seven hundred chosen men, left-handed: every one could sling stones at a hairbreadth,

and not miss." David refused the offer of Saul to dress him in a suit of armour, because he knew nothing of the use of it, and he slew Goliath "with a stone and with a sling." Saul himself was killed, not by any solid phalanx of the enemy, but by "the archers," and it is obvious that those who were clothed in armour were few, and, as in Homer's battles, out of that very circumstance, the champions of the host. Even so, even thus poorly provided for the work of war, the Israelites were on a par with their neighbours, the wealthy maritime towns being excepted. The equipment of indeed all the ancient orientals resembled more that of modern savages than the impenetrable steel of the Greek phalanx. Six hundred years after this period, in the expedition of Xerxes against Greece, the Arabians were girt round the waist with a cloth, and had long bows, which, in marching, were bent the wrong way, and slung over the right shoulder¹; this is to be understood as the whole of their equipment. The Æthiopes of Asia, neighbours of the Arabians, had the cotton dress of the Indians, with their bows and arrows of cane; on their heads they wore the skin of the face of horses, the tuft of hair between the ears serving for a crest, and the ears themselves being made to stand erect: for shields they had the skins of cranes. It might further be alleged, from the ancient poet of the Persian war, that these horse-skins were also the headpieces of the Jews

¹ This I believe to be a correct version of *τόξα δὲ παλίντονα εἶχον, προσδέξια, μακρά.*—Herod. vii. 69. See Schweighauser on *ὁν ὑπὸ δὲ φαρετρεῶν ἐκρέμαντο.*

in Xerxes' expedition^s; for though, taken only on similarity of names, it be doubtful whether those who lived in the mountains of Solyma, were the people of Hiero-Solyma or Jerusalem, yet when it is added that their helmets were Æthiopian, and their language Phœnician, that is (nearly) Hebrew, the probability rises to a higher standard. The poverty of defence, under which the Persians sank in conflict with the Greeks, can best be conceived by reading the list of Xerxes' troops at length. Aristophanes, in the spirit of exultation, compares the fight at Marathon to the sport of spearing tunny fish^h. Cyaxares, king of Media, cotemporary with Nebuchadnezzar, was the first to separate the archers, cavalry and spearmenⁱ. Sesostris, king of Egypt, supposed to be Shishak, cotemporary with Rehoboam, was represented by a figure in height four cubits and a span, with a bow, spear, and the linen corslet and knife of the Egyptians^k. But we must dismiss this subject: it will be easily seen that the Israelites might defend their mountains against most of their assailants.

Saul's public character differs from that of the kings after him. He was marked by "zeal for the people of Israel and Judah:" far from tolerating idolatry, he put away, by royal ordinance, witchcraft and the impostures allied to it out of the land. But he is held in reprobation. To account for this, we observe that he had

^s Choerilus, ap. Joseph. *Adv. Apion*, vol. ii. p. 454. Quo de loco disputationem conflavit Noëkius de Choerilo, sec. iv. p. 130. But Choerilus is not accurate.

^h Aristoph. *Vesp.*, 1090. ⁱ Herod., i. 103. ^k Id., ii. 106.

formed designs hostile to the priesthood, and therefore to that national church which had been distinctly appointed by the Almighty. His attempt to usurp the sacerdotal functions, by offering sacrifice in Samuel's absence, was received with an exclamation of astonishment and pain, "What hast thou done?" and it was followed by a denunciation of wrath, "Thy kingdom shall not continue¹." The design he had formed was betrayed by his massacre of all the principal priests, of whom Abiathar alone escaped to David. This last great crime was perhaps less culpable, in the circumstances of the people, than the impious plan of which it formed a part: for the privileges of the descendants of Aaron were an essential portion of the Law, and the reversal of it in that particular would destroy its integrity, as a divine scheme of national worship.

¹ Heeren (*Manuel*, vol. i., p. 51,) puts the variance of Samuel and Saul in a stronger and disagreeable light.

CHAPTER V.

On the death of Saul, David, anointed long since by Samuel, left the protection of Achish; and occupying Hebron, asserted, with the support of Judah, his title to the crown. The remainder of the people, however, the ten tribes of a later period, attached themselves to Ishbosheth, a son of Saul; "and there was long (*constant*) war between the house of Saul and the house of David: but David waxed stronger and stronger, and the house of Saul waxed weaker and weaker." The reign of Ishbosheth lasted two years. Abner, the commander in war, his principal stay, took umbrage at a remonstrance respecting his intimacy with Rizpah, the daughter of Aiah, who had been a concubine of Saul. "Am I a dog's head," said he, "that thou chargest me with a fault concerning this woman?" and in fierce pride he avowed his intention of delivering up the kingdom into David's hands. In pursuance of his threat he held communication with David on the one hand, and with the elders of Israel, Ishbosheth's chief subjects, on the other, and at last visited David at Hebron, to explain, in a personal interview, the conditions on which the majority of the tribes would accept him—"all that seemed good to Israel, and all that seemed good to the whole house of Benjamin." David made a feast for him, as for one who should be honourably entertained, and Abner left the city with the

intention of completing the revolution he had been negotiating. He had proceeded on his road homewards as far as the well of Sirah, (perhaps Solomon's pools near Bethlehem,) when Joab, returning from a foray, found that his own importance was likely to be eclipsed by Abner's greater eminence, and, sending for him back to Hebron, he drew him aside and stabbed him with his own hand. David found it necessary publicly to disclaim participation in this crime, which truly seems to have been contrary even to his interest. To Ishbosheth the assassination of the traitor Abner was no amendment: everything was paralysed; and two brothers of his guard obtaining admission to his house about the heat of the day, "as though they would have fetched wheat," killed him as he lay reposing on his couch, and cutting off his head, carried it with them to David at Hebron. They were immediately and justly executed.

These circumstances opened the way, and David was firmly established upon the throne. Nevertheless, as it appears, the ten, or rather eleven tribes, had never heartily concurred in the admission of a king not belonging to Saul's house, and as afterwards they followed several leaders, yet none of Saul's descendants, it is proper to account for the disappearance of that family. David, in the former part of his reign, (before the birth of Solomon,) put the question to his friends, "Is there yet any that is left of the house of Saul, that I may show him kindness for Jonathan's sake?" and after a time, Ziba, a servant of Saul's house, who seems

to have occupied the vacant estates of the family, gave the information required. He produced Mephibosheth, a son of Jonathan, who, when five years old, had been dropped by his nurse in the flight from the battle of Gilboa, and was lame on both his feet. It is plain that this defect would prevent the partisans of the nearly extinct house from rallying round Mephibosheth; yet even so, a consciousness existed that he had an hereditary title. Ziba, afterwards misrepresenting his conduct in Absalom's rebellion, accuses him to David of ambitious hopes: "He abideth at Jerusalem, for he said, To-day shall the house of Israel restore unto me the kingdom of my father." The survival of Mephibosheth alone arose thus: Saul and three of his sons had been killed at Gilboa, Ishbosheth, a fourth, had been assassinated, and others had been put to death in a way which suggests a reason for the concealment of Mephibosheth, and the occupation of the estates by Ziba. The oracle of God pronounced the cause of a famine: "It is for Saul and for his bloody house, because he slew the Gibeonites." At the demand of the Gibeonites, David took two sons and five grandsons of Saul, and "hanged them in the hill before the Lord." How this measure was felt by Saul's friends may be judged of by the silent appeal of Rizpah the daughter of Aiah, and by the reproaches of Shimei, who cried aloud to David as he fled from Absalom, "Come out, come out, thou bloody man, and thou man of Belial: the Lord hath returned upon thee all the blood of the house of Saul, in whose stead thou hast reigned." Mephibosheth himself speaks

the same feelings in a different temper and language, "For all my father's house were but as dead men before my lord the king."

Rather more than five years passed before David, though king of all Israel, came into possession of Jebus, or Jerusalem, the conquest of which is thus interpreted by Josephus. The Jebusites considered the place so strong, that when the king threatened an attack they manned the walls, not with their efficient warriors, but with the "lame and the blind," as if no greater aid was requisite to insure their safety, "thinking David cannot come in hither." "Nevertheless, David took the strong hold of Zion." Joab was the champion who first mounted the wall, "and was chief," that is, he earned or preserved from other claimants his place of commander of the muster in war.

The reign of David was of great political importance in the history of the Hebrews. The advantages which had been already won through their restored union, before the great reverse at Gilboa, were increased tenfold under his dominion; and the commonwealth of Israel, which, since Joshua's death, had not much more form and substance than is enjoyed by a tribe of roving Arabs, began to command a place among the nations. For the surer defence of his realm against foreign enemies, he introduced some sort of discipline among his people, and appointed officers, who held their posts permanently, and were therefore better fitted for military service than the extemporary leaders of former times. The art of war was, however, still in its infancy; the

captains contributed by their personal valour to the success of the battle, and were mostly chosen for that quality. He that "sat in the seat, chief among the captains, was Adino the Eznite: he lift up his spear against eight hundred, whom he slew at one time." This, and such other feats of war, are to be partly accounted for by what has been already remarked; that the princes or chieftains were better armed than the multitude; but for such prowess, and not for any military skill, it was that the officers were selected. Joab, son of David's sister Zeruiah, was the captain of the host.

David's conquests, a portion of the blessings conferred on him with regard both to his private piety and his administrative support of the worship of Jehovah,—unlike those of the Romans, so systematically confirmed by the subsequent policy, as to consolidate the heterogeneous parts into one empire,—were merely the pressure of a season, which allowed the subjected people to retain their usual rights and government under the simple condition of a tribute. Such a submission to a foreign power, though adverse to the strong national pride of Europeans, is in close harmony with the relations subsisting among Eastern chiefs even of our own times. It was, however, from its nature, necessarily but temporary; and the connexion that depended on superiority only, was broken when that superiority could no longer be maintained.

"The Moabites became David's servants, and brought gifts," that is, a tribute, paid probably in sheep*. The

* 2 Kings iii. 4.

conquest was permanent. Moab continued subject to the kings of Israel till the reign of Joram.

David's next enemy was a Syrian (Aram) king of a district called Zobah, lying probably on both sides of Lebanon, or at least in the valley of Bekaa. Hadadezer had committed some aggression, and David went to recover his border "at the river^b." The king of Israel was not only successful but triumphant; "from Bethah and Berothah he took exceeding much brass," and dedicated in the temple the shields of gold which had been the armour of the proudest warriors of Zobah. The plunder of this region must have been very great; but Hadadezer had still some resources left.

The Syrians (Aram) of Damascus came to the assistance of Aram-Zobah, but they also were defeated with a loss of two-and-twenty thousand men: David^c made a complete conquest of all the Damascene territory, so far as conquests then went, and they paid him tribute. The sovereignty was lost by Solomon.

The victory over Hadadezer was of so great promise in the mind of Töi, king of Hamath, a very large city further north, afterwards subdued by the Assyrians, that he sent his son on an embassy to David, with vessels of silver, and vessels of gold, and vessels of brass, as a present. He was at once pleased with the defeat of his enemy, and willing to propitiate a great king.

^b See note at the end of the section.

^c Perhaps, as the Aram Naharaim, 1 Chron. xix. 6, appear in the second affair with Hadadezer, the conquest of Damascus was not completed till then. The sacred historian is very concise.

David "gat him a name" by adding to his successes a victory over the Edomites, in the Valley of Salt. This conquest also was durable: he "put garrisons in Edom, and all they of Edom became David's servants."

Some undefined time after these events, Hanun, king of Ammon, jealous of David's power, insulted the Hebrew ambassadors sent to comfort him on the death of his father, refused to receive them in the capital, "shaved off the one half of their beards, cut off their garments in the middle, and sent them away." Conscious of having given offence, Hanun was the first to pursue the quarrel. He sent a thousand talents of silver to hire allies from Lebanon, the Aram (highlanders) of Beth-Rehob, and of Zobah, and of Maachah, and Ish-tob, or men of Tôb. These advanced from the north as far as Medaba, in Moab^d, plundering the country as they went. Joab divided his army: himself with a select body faced the Syrians (Aram), while Abishai his brother attacked the Ammonites, who approached from the east by themselves. The circumstances were perilous, the invasion unjust, and the words of Joab speak as much: "Be of good courage, and let us play the men for our people and for the cities of our God: and the LORD do that which seemeth him good." Joab defeated the Syrians, and the Ammonites disheartened fled before Abishai, and took refuge in their city. But the campaign was not yet ended. Hadadezer, alarmed at the probable consequences of his defeat, sent and

^d In Moab—the Hebrew spelling cannot be mistaken: it still retains its former name.

brought out "the Syrians that were beyond the river," the Aram Naharaim. They came to Helam, which was somewhere under Lebanon and Hermon, where they were defeated by David, and Shobach their general killed. The consequence of this battle was a peace, in the conditions of which seems to have been involved the cession of [Damascus,] Zobah and Maachah to Israel. "So the Syrians feared to help the children of Ammon any more."

The next campaign, as there was a single and dispirited enemy to cope with, opened by the siege of the Ammonite capital, Rabbah (*Philadelphia*; now *Ammān*); a siege memorable in David's life, as it was the cause of the absence from home of Uriah the Hittite, giving opportunity for David's sin with Bathsheba, Uriah's wife, and its attendant crime, the murder of the husband. Joab after a while got possession of "the waters" from which the city was supplied, and in a climate such as that of Syria, the capture of the town was certain. He then despatched word to the king, in order that he should come himself and assume the command of the victorious army, which was not refused, and Rabbah fell. "David gathered the rest of the people together and went to Rabbah and fought against it and took it. And he took their king's crown from off his head, the weight whereof was a talent of gold with the precious stones; and it was set on David's head, and he brought forth the spoil of the city in great abundance." That the people of the country were mercifully treated and the royal family spared, is evident from what we learn

afterwards; for amongst others, "Shobi, the son of Nahash of Rabbah, of the children of Ammon," succoured David in his distresses with a liberal hand and grateful forethought*. The severities inflicted upon obnoxious persons are mentioned to show that the country was thoroughly subjugated.

The next recorded national event is the rebellion of Absalom, who by his revenge on his brother had excluded himself from his father's favour, yet, endowed by nature with qualities to conciliate the popular voice, became the centre of the disaffection that regarded David as the king of Judah rather than of the whole nation. Absalom had the advantage of royal descent on his mother's side, she being "the daughter of Talmi, king of Geshur;" and "in all Israel there was none to be so much praised as Absalom for his beauty; from the sole of his foot even to the crown of his head there was no blemish in him." After the murder of his half brother he had taken refuge with Talmi, where his claims to precedence among his brethren would be encouraged. The estrangement and advanced age of his father, or other causes, urged him at last into open rebellion at Hebron. The readiness with which the bulk of the population embraced his cause, may be accounted for by men's partiality towards a youthful and active leader, but it bears also evident traces of the severance between Ishbosheth and David, for there was no person of the house of Saul capable of reviving

* 2 Samuel xvii. 27.

† 2 Samuel iii. 8. For its situation see Joshua xii. 5.

its pretensions, which were therefore transferred to Absalom as the people's choice. Revolt spread so rapidly that David retired a fugitive from Jerusalem, destitute and pitiable. He "went up by the ascent of Mount Olivet, and wept as he went up, and had his head covered, and he went barefoot: and all the people that was with him covered every man his head, and they went up, weeping as they went up." He continued his flight without resting, and having crossed the Jordan the same night, he came to Mahanaim in Gilead. The scene of these events being very confined, it had been in the power of Absalom to attack, and perhaps destroy David, within a few hours, before he reached the Jordan; but a message from his friends in Jerusalem had hastened the king's escape, and the contest was now to be decided in a battle. The field of struggle was the wood of Ephraim in the great plain of the Jordan, and the practised warriors of David's body-guard were victorious over the men of Israel. Absalom himself was killed by Joab's hand, and the insurrection was crushed by that blow.

An attempt made by one Sheba to collect again the elements of civil war, dissolved by Absalom's fall, shows a reliance upon the wide-spread discontent, and a confidence that any resistance to the power of David, even under a leader of no eminence, would secure a number of followers. Accordingly, at the ford of Jordan, "the men of Israel went up from after David and followed Sheba, the son of Bichri: but the men of

* Josephus, i. p. 392, but query.

Judah clave unto their king from Jordan even to Jerusalem," the two parties taking different roads. While David and his friends took the road to Jerusalem, Sheba went northwards through all the tribes of Israel to Abel-beth-Maachah, and he was there joined by the recently subdued people of Maachah and Berothab¹. The disaffected, nevertheless, soon deserted the standard of this Benjamite, and unable to keep the field, he took refuge in Abel-beth-Maachah, which was besieged in form by Joab: "they cast up a bank against the city, and it stood in the trench, and all the people that were with Joab battered the wall to throw it down!" As soon, therefore, as it was ascertained that the sacrifice of their obscure leader would content the royal general, the head of Sheba was thrown over the wall by the citizens, and the siege was instantly abandoned.

The peculiar glory of David's reign is the establishment of the worship of God and the banishment of idolatrous superstition. His mind was full of humble devotion and glowing piety, which he indulged in the composition of odes or psalms, admirable not only to his countrymen and his own age, but to foreigners removed by thirty centuries from his time; and his faith exercised its beneficial influence over his public as well as his private character. The zeal of Saul, though it sometimes failed, had for the most part been

¹ Berim. Lxx., πάντες ἐν Χαρρὶ, query Charran.

² The earliest example of a systematic siege. The consolidation of the Israelite kingdom by the subjection of the Canaanitish towns not subdued by Joshua, is partly attributable to the introduction of this art: it is of frequent occurrence in Scripture. See hereafter the siege by Titus.

strenuously, and indeed severely, directed to abolish pagan ceremonies and vices; and David followed his zealous course with more singleness of purpose, and we may conclude, by the silence of the sacred history, without his severity. The celebration of the return of the ark, and the preparations for building the temple, testify David's anxiety to ratify by public ordinances the religious creed of the nation; and the words of commendation applied to him, combined with the reprobated recurrence of idolatry in his son's reign, convince us that his efforts were entirely successful. The blessings bestowed on him may be considered as granted to his administration, careful to promote obedience to the Divine law, rather than to his personal virtues: but it is much to be observed that, individually, no man was more clearly chastised for wrongdoing, by tokens of a special Providence, nor had the punishments inflicted more expressly interpreted by prophetic messengers. We look back to his reign in later times as to a period when the worship and church of God were flourishing, and the kingdom flourishing with them; when the profane and the audacious received no encouragement to evil, and the ministers and rites of religion enjoyed the powerful protection of the sovereign. It is, indeed, in every respect an era in the history of the Hebrews: and we must expect to find it referred to as an example and lesson, when subsequent kings neglected or thrust aside the worship of Jehovah.

The life of David now drew near to an end. In the

prospect of his death, Adonijah, his son by Haggith, gathered a faction to secure the succession to himself; but the influence of Bathsheba disappointed his ambition, and obtained from David authority to proclaim her own son Solomon, even in his father's lifetime.

NOTES.

HAMATH. General consent on good grounds places Hamath on the north of Palestine: the Jews, the Arabic geographers, and the Arabs of the country so name a town north of Damascus, east of the mountains, and on the Orontes. It may be found in the modern maps of Syria, under the name Hamath; and in the ancient, by the Greek name Epiphania. Everything in Scripture agrees very well with this situation, which may be assumed as certain. As the town was of importance in very ancient times, I add an extract from **ABULFEDA**, *Tab. Syriæ*, page 108, ed. Koehler, 1766. "*Chamat civitas est antiqua cujus mentio injicitur in libris Israelitarum. Accensetur amœnissimis Syriæ urbibus. Orontes ambit urbis longe maximam partem a latere orientali ac septentrionali. Gaudet arce pulcre structa et excelsa. . . . Al Aârawi urbem eam appellat antiquam, cujus mentio fiat in Torah (in Pentateucho). Hoc oppidum . . præ ceteris Syriæ urbibus abundat machinis aquariis.*"

ZOBABH. Hamath was connected with Zobah. 1 Chron. xviii. 3: "David smote Hadadezer, king of Zobah, unto Hamath." 2 Chron. viii. 3: "Solomon went to Hamath-Zobah." Ezekiel (xlvii. 16,) draws the north border of Israel by Hamath and Berothah,

but Berothah (2 Sam. viii. 8,) belonged to Zobah. So much is evident, therefore, that Zobah, like Hamath, lay near Lebanon. Indeed, how could it lie otherwise, when it was a neighbour of David, and on the north? Now, as Damascus constituted the east of Antilibanus, there is left to Zobah the space between Lebanon and the sea, with the Valley of the Bekaa between the two chains of mountains. Thus it borders on David's kingdom, and on Hamath, as it should do.

Berothah, in Zobah, can scarcely be Beyrout. Ezekiel (xlvi. 16,) places it between Hamath and Sibraim, "which is between the border of Damascus and the border of Hamath." (*Gesenius*.)

It is requisite to observe that the word Euphrates is only the Keri in 2 Samuel viii. 3, though it is Chethibh in 1 Chron. xviii. 3.

MAACHAH. The Syrians (Aram) were at Damascus Berothah, Rehob (near Paneas). To these is to be added Maachah (2 Samuel x. 8,) which, by a fair presumption, will be placed on the north border of Israel, along with its fellows. Accordingly, it was contiguous to Bashan (Josh. xiii. 13; Deut. iii. 14,) but not subdued by Joshua. Abel-beth-Maachah was later in David's reign an Israelite city, in the north: it had been no doubt the capital of Maachah, for it is called (2 Samuel xx. 19,) a mother, that is, a metropolis. It may be confidently fixed by the testimony of Hieronymus and Eusebius, (*Onomasticon. Judice*) "nec non et tertia in Phœnice Abela inter Damascus et Paneadem;" and it appears (*Travels of Captains Irby and Mangles*, p. 283,) that Mr. Bankes found inscriptions by which he identified "the site of the ancient Abilah, five hours from Damascus, towards Panias."

CHAPTER VI.

SOLOMON, thus peaceably established on the throne, reigned for forty years over dominions bounded by the Desert, the Mediterranean, and Lebanon. To define his territories with more exactness, we may place the extreme south at Elath and Ezion-gaber on the Red Sea; the extreme north was the valley of the Bekaa, between Lebanon and Hermon (Antilibanus). A line stretching from Gaza to Elath, then following the shores of the Desert, and therefore embracing Moab, Ammon, the Hauran, Damascus, to (say) Baalbec, will be very distinct. From Baalbec we keep by the heights of Lebanon^a, till at the southern extremity we turn and cross over to the coast, a few (say ten) miles north of Sidon; and from thence the sea brings us back to Gaza. But on the maritime border, several very important cities break the line, and intrude upon the king's dominion; Sidon, Old Tyre, Accho (Ptolemais), Dor, and all the Philistine towns, except Gezer and perhaps Gath. Gezer is a special exception; it was the dowry, which the king of Egypt first reduced, and then gave away with his daughter, Solomon's wife. The Phœnician cities may be conceived to have no more territory than the fields adjacent to their walls; but the Philistines

^a East or west of the mountain? We hear nothing of the sea-ports. Several parts of the Canticles allude, not only to a possession, but a profoundly tranquil possession, of Lebanon.

were masters of the plain they inhabited. The existence in David's time, within the stated limits, of a king of Geshur, adjacent to Bashan and Maachah, finds a solution in David's marriage to that king's daughter, by whom he had Absalom. Solomon's sovereignty over Edom put him in possession of Ezion-gaber; and, as the words imply, while Hiram, king of Old Tyre, contributed the officers, he found the rowers (τὰ πηρώματα) for galleys that sailed thence on a commercial voyage to the Indies, Ophir. He built Tamar, or Tadmor; but it seems extremely improbable that by this word the Scripture signifies Palmyra: (see the note.) These territories, much larger than the proper limits of the Hebrews, and very extensive for those times of high antiquity, were not united into one compact kingdom, but held for the most part under tribute, essentially divided, and only for a time combined under one head.

The good effects of David's policy, and the national blessings it secured, were continued under the government of Solomon^b. The early part of his reign was indeed ruled by the principles which had guided his father, and it was spent in absolute tranquillity. "Judah and Israel were many, as the sand which is by the sea in multitude, eating and drinking, and making merry." In the fourth year of his reign he commenced the building of the Temple, for which David had made preparations, yet it was not completed till more than seven full years afterwards. The undertaking must be

^b In a time of purity of religion, observe the fulfilment of the repeated promise of extended territory. Genesis xv. 18; Deut. i. 7, xi. 24; Joshua i. 4.

estimated, not by comparison with more recent edifices, but by reference to the state of the country, and of the arts at the time; its dimensions are thus recorded: "The length thereof was threescore cubits (ninety feet), and the breadth thereof twenty cubits (thirty feet), and the height thereof thirty cubits (forty-five feet)." Those who would swell these measures by raising the whole temple to the height assigned in the book of Chronicles to the porch, one hundred and twenty cubits, do so gratuitously: nor is that a legitimate method of interpretation which would deduce an increased breadth from the plan of the second temple. The better part of the skill employed in the construction seems to have been brought from Sidon and Old Tyre, while the native Hebrews were chiefly busied with the ruder labour. The temple was decorated with cedar and gold, and was consecrated with great festivities and solemnity.

Solomon married a daughter of the king of Egypt, a higher alliance than any other king of Israel ever aspired to, but, as Eastern princes are wont, he took besides many other wives. To please these women he permitted the sanctity of his kingdom to be impaired by the introduction of the superstitions and idolatry in which they had been born, and to a certain degree promoted those abominable rites by building their high places even within sight of the temple of God. His latter days were, therefore, judicially, disturbed by "adversaries." In Edom Hadad appeared, one of the blood royal, who at the conquest by David had escaped into Egypt, and had been received into favour with

Pharoah the king. He left Egypt at the commencement of the new reign, when he heard that David and Joab were dead, and did "mischief" in Edom, but no more. Damascus was entirely alienated by Rezon, a remnant of Aram Zobah: he seems to have founded a line of kings, the future antagonists of the Hebrews, particularly of the kings of Samaria. In Israel, Ahijah, a prophet, foretold the exaltation of Jeroboam, who was therefore driven to avoid the jealousy of Solomon by a flight into Egypt to Shishak, and he was in Egypt till the death of Solomon.

NOTE.

PALMYRA has been long allowed to have been built (fortified) by Solomon: the origin of this opinion is the name Tamar (*Keri*, Tadmor), a palm, and it has been derived to us from an ancient Jewish interpretation through Josephus and Jerome. But this version ought to be received with great suspicion. Palmyra lies in the Desert, between the Euphrates and Damascus, where the transit is shortest: and from Damascus it is distant three days' journey, all desert. It owed its origin to the commercial traffic between the Eastern and Western world, and, as even Parkhurst observes, was never heard of till the time of Mark Antony. Appian, *Civil.*, V. ix, says of the Palmyrenes, ἔμποροι γὰρ ὄντες, κομίζουσι μὲν ἐκ Περσῶν τὰ Ἰνδικὰ ἢ Ἀράβια, διατίθενται δ' ἐν τῇ Ρωμαίων. "They are traders, and bring Indian and Arabic produce from Parthia, to dispose of it in the Roman territories." In the first place,

then, in Solomon's age there was no such caravan traffic across the Desert, and consequently no Palmyra. But principally, in the second place, the tenor of the sacred text has no reference to any distant city: the towns fortified are all in the proper original Israelite dominions of the king, except Gezer, a Philistine town close by him, near Joppa, which is specially accounted for. 1 Kings ix. 15, tells us he built Hazor (in Naphtali), Megiddo (in Manasseh), Gezer, Bethoron, Baalath (= Kirjath-jearim in the pass of Bethoron), and Tadmor (Tamar) in the Wilderness, in the land. THE Wilderness, it is well known, commonly stands for the barren district between Jerusalem and Jericho. "The road to Jericho, beyond Bethany, runs between bleak stony mountains, dreariness itself.*" In this district we have to choose between Baal-Tamar, Judges xx. 33, and the city of palm trees (Tamarim), Deut. xxxiv. 3; but we cannot start away to Palmyra.

* Lord Lindsay's *Travels*, vol. ii., p. 63.

CHAPTER VII.

THE prosperity of the Hebrews was terminated by the death of Solomon. The schism that arose with David and Ishbosheth had been renewed occasionally, even after the extinction of the house of Saul, and now it was opened afresh, with more permanent effects. The claims of hereditary succession had not acquired sufficient authority by the single instance of Solomon, and on the accession of Rehoboam, the people, from whom some sort of informal ratification of his title was expected, demanded of him at Shechem (Sychem) a pledge to reduce their burdens. He, nursed in royalty, and untaught to respect his subjects, refused the application with contumely: "My father chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions." At this, popular indignation tumultuously broke out, with stoning the king's officer, "Hadoram, who was over the tribute;" and Rehoboam, unprepared to back his threats by force, fled in terror to Jerusalem. In the midst of this revolution, the tribe of Judah, ever friendly to David and his house, remained firm in its allegiance, and carried with it part, and part only, of the little clan of Benjamin*. With such means Rehoboam was willing to re-assert his lost sovereignty in arms, but the

* Jericho and Bethel in Benjamin, both belonged to Israel. The Beerothites seem to have migrated, to avoid the dominion of Judah. 2 Sam. iv. 3.

voice of a prophet, Shemaiah, stopped his plans and quenched his hopes: "Thus saith the Lord, Ye shall not go up, nor fight against your brethren: return every man to his house: for this thing is done of me." From this time forward, Judah and Israel were separate kingdoms, and not so intimately connected in their transactions as to make it necessary to pursue the account of the two together. We take, first, the history of Israel. In the dissolution of union, the province of Edom and the possession of the capital fell to the lot of Judah; the latter circumstance was much in its favour: on the other hand, four-fifths of the territory, and the sovereignty over Moab, belonged to Israel. The Syrians (Aram) and Ammonites, after this, were no longer under subjection. Jerusalem was hemmed in very close by the alienated population. In the pass of Gophna, its last town was Geba, only six miles distant. On the eastern road also, Jericho, eighteen miles off, was Israelitish^b; and, in fact, Judah stood alone, but that some of the Benjamite towns were locally commanded by Jerusalem. The barrier between the two kingdoms was Mount Ephraim.

The prophetic election of JEROBOAM for ruler of the ten revolted tribes, would be nearly enough to determine the popular choice, and accordingly this unscrupulous politician established his throne in Shechem, and subsequently in Tirzah^c. To confirm and perpetuate

^b 2 Chron. xxviii. 15; 1 Kings xvi. 34; 2 Kings xiv. 25; Amos vi. 14.

^c The situation of Tirzah is not known. "Thou art beautiful, O my love, as Tirzah, comely as Jerusalem." Cant. vi. 4.

the separation of the kingdoms, he was not withheld from introducing idolatry, lest the worship at Jerusalem should tend to reconcile the breach, and in imitation, probably, of the practice he had seen in Egypt, he set up calves of gold at Bethel and at Dan. These images were attended with the usual pomps and ceremonies,—trains of priests, sacrifices, and a yearly festival,—and they produced, no doubt, the alienation he desired^d. The operation of this idolatrous policy was indeed so obvious, that the footsteps of Jeroboam were followed by all the kings of Israel who succeeded him; for to them, as well as to him, it was inexpedient that the people should worship at Jerusalem. The ten tribes never, down to the Captivity, returned to their God as a nation, though, amid all discouragement, a few adhered to his service; and his prophets were respected and feared even by the most heathen of the kings. Jeroboam himself consults Ahijah*.

Shishak, king of Egypt, victorious over Rehoboam, did not, as far as appears, extend his invasion into Israel: it may be supposed that the asylum Egypt had given, secured from Jeroboam a prompt submission; nor is it impossible that he had even invited the conqueror to harass his enemy of Judah. The latter part of Jeroboam's reign was signalised by the great defeat he suffered from Abijah, Rehoboam's son, who wished to recover the lost territories of his family. The battle

^d To the inauguration festival refer the withering of the king's hand, and the other circumstances recorded 1 Kings xiii.

* 1 Kings xiv. A proof, by the way, of Ahijah's prophecy about his elevation.

was so fatal, that Jeroboam did not "recover strength again in the days of Abijah, and the LORD struck him and he died."

After Jeroboam's death, further troubles arose. NADAB his son was slain, and his whole house exterminated by BAASHA, who usurped the throne. This king, maintaining the inveterate enmity against Judah, thirty-six years after the separation of the kingdoms, began to build Ramah, in the pass of Gophna, six miles from Jerusalem, and on the only highway between Israel and Judah, "to the intent that he might let none go out nor come in to Asa king of Judah." He was urged to this measure by the desertion of his subjects: "They fell to Asa out of Israel in great abundance." The perilous situation to which he reduced that prince is not fully developed in the Chronicles: we learn only from Jeremiah[†], that there was extant in his time, near Mizpeh, a pit or fosse, "which Asa the king had made (across the valley) for fear of Baasha king of Israel." It could only be in great extremity that Asa applied for, and procured at a high price, the assistance of Ben-hadad, king of Damascus; "he brought silver and

[†] Chap xli. 9.

* Ben-hadad = the son of Hadad, an idol god of Damascus. The account Nicolaus Damascenus, *ap. Joseph.*, vol. i., p. 375, gives of eleven successive Hadads, kings of Damascus, of whom the first was defeated by David, and the third devastated Samaria, agrees well with the recurrence in Scripture of the name Benhadad, but is hardly consistent with the interruption of the succession by Hazael. This is Mr. Clinton's remark. The first Benhadad we hear of, 1 Kings xv. 18, was son of Tabrimon, (from the idol Rimmon,) son of Hezion. But as Scripture names are often significant, they may be titles, and one of these may be *lezon* (the prince).

gold out of the treasures of the house of the LORD, and of the king's house, and sent them to Benhadad," to purchase a diversion on the northern border of the land of Israel. Accordingly, the Syrian armies invaded Naphtali, and smote many cities, "Ijon, and Dan, and Abel-Maim, and all the store cities of Naphtali," and obliged Baasha to abandon his invasion of Judah. That Damascus could recover strength so soon after the conquest by David, sprang from the nature of the conquest,—nothing more than a levy of tribute, for the payment of which the chiefs were held responsible, and not an annihilation of the resources of the country. We may for the future include Zobah, Maachah, Rehob, Ish-tob, in the dominions of Damascus, and make its king lord of all Aram. The interference of the Syrian prince augured ill for the independence of both the Hebrew kingdoms, and as it was suggested by the greater power of Benhadad, so it threatened a future exercise of that power, injurious to Judah as well as to Israel.

ELAH, the son and successor of Baasha, fell by the same odious means that had elevated his father: "His servant Zimri, captain of half his chariots, conspired against him," and killed him, "as he was drinking himself drunk in the house" of his steward at Tirzah, which was then the capital. The same motive of security against retribution impelled him to destroy the house of Baasha, as Baasha had extended no mercy to the relatives of Jeroboam. At the time of Elah's murder, the people were encamped before Gibbethon, a Phi'

tine city, in the tribe of Dan, which had been previously attempted by Nadab; and when the news arrived, they chose Omri, the general, for king. ZIMRI, besieged in the capital by Omri, when he "saw that the city was taken," burnt the palace over his own head, and so died, after a questionable reign of seven days. A new competitor, Tibni, was next overcome, and OMRI was safely seated on the throne, which he enjoyed for six years. His reign is marked by the foundation of Samaria, a new capital: "He bought the hill Samaria of Shemer for two talents of silver, and built on the hill, and called the name of the city which he built, after the name of Shemer, owner of the hill, Samaria." The son of Omri was the wicked AHAB. He married Jezebel, daughter of the king of Sidon, and with her he introduced the idolatry of her nation, and even built in Samaria a temple and altar of Baal, probably that god known to the Greeks as the Tyrian Hercules. Astaroth or Astarte also was worshipped in Tyre: "He did more to provoke the LORD God of Israel to anger, than all the kings of Israel that were before him." To preserve the worship of the true God, there arose a great prophet, Elijah of Gilead, who, favoured with a large portion of the Divine Spirit, was an insuperable obstacle to the completion of the king's designs.

The king of Damascus, tempted by the wretched condition of Israel, weak through perpetual revolutions and constant differences with their brethren of the other tribe, now collected his forces, numbering thirty-two kings under him, and besieged Samaria. Ahab had

been willing to make submission, which was demanded in the most despotic terms: "Thy silver and thy gold is mine, thy wives also and thy children, even the goodliest are mine:" but his submission had probably contemplated a regular tribute in money and youthful slaves; he was not prepared to obey the arbitrary requisition made upon him: "I will send my servants unto thee to-morrow about this time, and they shall search thine house, and the houses of thy servants, and it shall be that whatsoever is pleasant in thine eyes, they shall put it in their hand and take it away." His refusal was followed by the siege of Samaria; the result, however, was favourable to the weaker party: "The young men of the princes of the provinces," in number 232, backed by 7000 of their countrymen, sallied from the city, while "Benhadad was drinking himself drunk in the pavilions;" and the attack, perhaps, being unexpected, "they slew the Syrians with a great slaughter," so that the king hastily "escaped on a horse with the horsemen." The next year, at the season of warfare, Benhadad renewed his invasion, but would not entangle himself among the hills, and therefore encamped in the plain at Aphek, near Jezreel: "And the children of Israel pitched before them like two little flocks of kids, and the Syrians (Aram) filled the country." On the seventh day the battle was joined, and the children of Israel "slew of the Syrians a hundred thousand footmen in one day;" and Benhadad, being taken captive, was driven humbly to sue for his life at the hands of Ahab, who dismissed him, subject to certain conditions

not named: they were, doubtless, not less than I hadad offered, a restoration of his father's conquest and the privilege to make streets in Damascus, as his father had done in Samaria^b; that is, the establishment of an Israelitish quarter or bazaar in the Syrian capital. These events were followed by three years of peace between Israel and Syria. At the termination of this period, Ahab, in alliance with Jehoshaphat the king of Judah, the first example of such an alliance, went up to attack a town then in possession of Damascus. Encouraged by his late successes, he seems to have nourished the idea of making a conquest: "Know ye not that Ramoth in Gilead is ours, and we be still, and take it not out of the hand of the king of Syria?" But the enterprise was fatal to him; he had disguised himself, and procured that his ally should attract the attention of the enemy, by entering into battle with the marks of royalty, yet he was killed by an arrow discharged "at a venture." He was succeeded by AHAZIAH, who reigned two years only. Against him the Moabites rebelled. He died of a fall; for, according to the construction of Oriental houses, the lattice railing, or parapet round the roof, by giving way, might precipitate a person leaning on it into the inner court below^c. Because he had no son, he was succeeded by his brother,

^b Did he allude to Baasha's time, or are Syrian wars in Omri's reign passed over?

^c Shaw's *Travels*, p. 277. Compare David walking on the roof, 2 Sam. xi. 2. Ahaziah consulted Baalzebub, the God of kron; *Zebub*, a fly. Ἀπομνίω Δὲ θύουσιν Ἡλείοι· Πρωμαῖοι Ἀπομνίω Ἡρακλεῖ.—Clem. Alex. Protrept., II. 38., P. 33., Klotz. See the miracles of Elijah.

JORAM. At this point is to be placed the translation of Elijah, carried up by a whirlwind in a chariot and horses of fire. Elijah is first mentioned in the beginning of the reign of Ahab, and may have prophesied twenty-four years^k. His mantle fell upon Elisha, who continued to prophesy about sixty years.

Joram determined on reducing the revolted king of Moab, whose appointed tribute, now unpaid, is mentioned as 100,000 lambs and 100,000 rams, with the wool. He obtained the assistance of Jehoshaphat, the king of Judah, whose son had married Athaliah, Ahab's daughter; and of the king of Edom, a vassal of Judah. They marched together into the land of Moab, through the wilderness of Edom, and, therefore, round the south of the Dead Sea, fetching a compass of seven days' journey, for the purpose probably of avoiding the precipices which raise Moab hundreds of feet above the Jordan^l, and they were greatly distressed by want of water^m. They advanced, nevertheless, into the territory of Moab, and treated it not like a tributary kingdom, but rather as revengeful enemies. They "beat down the cities," damaged, as far as they might, the best lands, cut down the fruit-trees, and stopped the precious wells of water. The king of Moab, shut up in his city, "took seven hundred men," and attempted to break through the line; but baffled in this, and expecting no mercy, he proceeded to propitiate his god,

^k Clinton, *Fasti.*, vol. i., p. 323.

^l Burckhardt's *Travels in Syria*, pp. 274, 276, 395.

^m Elisha was applied to, and in the morning there was water.

Chemosh, by human sacrifice; and in his extremity "he took his eldest son that should have reigned in his stead," the noblest victim of all, "and offered him for a burnt-offering upon the wall." The awful resource, the phrenzy of despair, seems to have aroused the spirit of his people against enemies so implacable: "There was great indignation against Israel; and they departed from him and returned to their own land." It appears from the silence of subsequent history, that the expedition of Joram failed in its object of recovering the supremacy of the country.

The successes of Ahab against the Syrians of Damascus had not been so confirmed either by the treaty with Benhadad, or by subsequent measures, as to secure the Israelite kingdom from danger in that quarter. We find the king of Aram besieging Samaria and reducing it to such extremity, that a woman, in the agony of famine, ate of the boiled flesh of her own son. "An ass's head was sold for fourscore pieces of silver, and the fourth part of a cab of dove's dung for five pieces of silver." The most competent judges differ in interpreting this passage. Bochart^a adheres to this version, in which also Josephus and the LXX. agree, and he compares a similar instance in Plutarch^b. Michaelis^c considers a homer of corn to be meant. The dove's dung seems to have been used to raise a few vegetables. This horrible scarcity was changed into plenty by a miracle, which

^a Bochart, *Hierozoic.*, vol. i., p. 159., ed. Leips.

^b Plut. *Artaxerx.*, c. 24.

^c Cited in the Leipsig edition of Bochart.

cannot conveniently be related here with its full interest¹. "The Lord made the Syrians to hear a noise of chariots and a noise of horses, even the noise of a great host; and they said one to another, Lo the king of Israel hath hired against us the kings of the Hittites, and the kings of the Egyptians to come upon us. Wherefore they arose and fled in the twilight and left their tents and their horses and their asses, even the camp as it was, and fled for their life: and all the way was full of garments and vessels which the Syrians had cast away in their haste." It is requisite, lest we should be led to consider the king of Israel as a special object of God's favour, to remark, that though he be commended for putting away the image of Baal introduced into Samaria by the Sidonian Jezebel and Ahab, yet he is said to have adhered to the sins of Jeroboam, namely, to the idol worship of the golden calves. It was rather to the remnant who had never "bowed unto Baal," and whose mouths had not kissed him, guided and represented by the prophet Elisha, that this mercy was vouchsafed. Elisha, it can hardly be doubted, had been concerned in encouraging the Samaritans to unflinching resistance, for we find that when the famine became extreme, the king swore to take vengeance on Elisha by slaying him, as the origin of the distress: "God do so and more also unto me, if the head of Elisha, the son of Shaphat, shall stand on him this day:" and it is evident that the several miraculous verifications of the prophet's words were direct means

¹ Read 2 Kings vi. 24 to end of vii.

of extending his influence, and multiplying the few thousands in Israel, who, amid the general idolatry, worshipped the God of their fathers.

Ramah, or Ramoth in Gilead, was still the subject of dispute between Israel and Syria, and was now in possession of the former. Joram, with the assistance of his relative Ahaziah of Judah, there met Hazael, who had suffocated Benhadad on his bed of sickness, and occupied his throne, and in the battle Joram was wounded. While he lay ill of his wounds at Jezreel, a conspiracy, authorised by the Divine will, was formed against him, among the officers of the army, which still garrisoned Ramoth Gilead. Jehu was the destined scourge of the wicked house of Ahab; he left Ramoth and proceeded to Jezreel, where the king, anxious for news of the warfare, came out in his chariot to meet him, and was killed by an arrow sent from Jehu's own hand. The king of Judah, also, who had accompanied him, was pursued and killed. Jehu next executed the commissioned vengeance upon Ahab's house, a task which would not be displeasing to him, as it fixed him more firmly on the throne. Jezebel, the origin of their crime, was the first victim.

The change of dynasty in the person of JEHU, prompts us to review the succession of the Israelite kings. The house of Jeroboam, himself a rebel against the son of Solomon, was destroyed, in the reign of his son Nadab, by Baasha. The house of Baasha was exterminated, in the reign of his son Elah, by Zimri, who, called king for seven days, was followed by Omri.

In this family, three generations, four princes, held the sceptre; Omri, Ahab, Ahaziah, Joram; and then came the massacre of Jehu. Such a catalogue of miseries, even under an Oriental despotism, where the connexion of king and people embraces only one relation, that of master and slaves, must have been attended with much public calamity.

The family of Ahab and his friends were largely identified with the worship of the Sidonian Baal. Jehu, not actuated by abhorrence of idolatry,—for in his eyes it was better to allow the adoration of the golden calves of Jeroboam, than to send his subjects to worship in Jerusalem,—but rather pursuing the suggestions of his own mind, merciless towards the rival faction of Ahab, collected by deceitful professions the votaries of the god, and slaughtered them in the temple of their own deity. He afterwards “burned the images” and “brake down the house of Baal.”

The usurper, for so he was in some sense, though an appointed instrument of Divine Providence, was not so successful against the Syrian enemy as Ahab had been. “In those days, the Lord began to cut Israel short: and Hazael smote them in all the coasts of Israel, from Jordan eastward, all the land of Gilead, the Gadites, and the Reubenites, and the Manassites, from Aroer which is by the river Arnon, even Gilead and Bashan.” This territory was in extent one half of the kingdom; but it seems to have been afterwards recovered by Joash and Jeroboam. During the reign of Hazael, the kingdom of Aram was flourishing and powerful.

Jehu's death gave the throne to his son JEHOAHAZ. "But Hazael king of Syria oppressed Israel all the days of Jehoahaz." Neither were there left "of the people to Jehoahaz, but fifty horsemen and ten chariots, and ten thousand footmen: for the king of Syria had destroyed them, and made them like the dust by threshing." It appears, however, that on one occasion not specified, a temporary relief was gained, "and the children of Israel dwelt in their tents as beforetime."

The reign of JOASH, son of Jehoahaz, was more happy. He waited upon Elisha in his last illness, and received from him a prophecy, that he should smite the Syrians thrice. Accordingly, he "took again out of the hand of Benhadad, the son of Hazael, the cities which he had taken out of the hand of Jehoahaz his father by war. Three times did Joash beat him, and recovered the cities of Israel." This king was challenged to the battle by Amaziah, king of Judah: they met, not in the direct road by Gophna, but at Bethshemesh, on the Philistine border of Judah, and in the defile of Bethoron. Amaziah was taken and Jerusalem plundered by Joash.

JEROBOAM, son of Joash, supported the military glory of his father: "he restored the coast of Israel from the entering in of Hamath, unto the sea of the plain," that is, from Baalbec northwards to the lake Asphaltitis southwards. Very little information is given us concerning the successes, that appear so considerable. The internal condition of the country was evidently still a near approach to anarchy. An inter-

regnum of eleven years is generally placed after the reign of Jeroboam: but it is hard to reconcile the idea of an interregnum with the hereditary succession; and we may perhaps be permitted to assume an error of the numerals, and extend the life of Jeroboam down to the accession of his son.

ZACHARIAH, the son of Jeroboam, closed the line of Jehu, which had enjoyed the sovereignty for five generations, in a reign of six months. His death was violent, by the hand of a conspirator. "SHALLUM, the son of Jabesh, conspired against him and smote him before the people and slew him, and reigned in his stead." One month, however, was the whole term of this usurpation: MENAHEM came from Tirzah, and attacked the regicide in Samaria, "and slew him, and reigned in his stead." This usurper treated with extreme cruelty the town of Tiphseh, which refused to submit to his authority. His ten years' reign is most remarkable for the appearance of a potentate not previously known to Hebrew history, the king of Assyria.

CHAPTER VIII.

OUR concern has hitherto been with small political elements; greater agents now enter on the scene. Joshua conquered in the field not less than thirty-one kings within the narrow limits of Palestine, west of Jordan. Every city had its own government*. So it was also in Aram. Next, as time and events advanced, David established a dominion embracing half Syria (*Συρία*). When intestine divisions debilitated Israel, and its territories were dismembered, Damascus became considerable. The destruction of the old governments, Zobah, Rehob, Maachah, Ishtob, by David was of all things best calculated to prepare the sovereignty for Damascus, as soon as the foreign pressure should be removed. By the incorporation of those parts Aram became united, and synonymous with Damascus. This power next began to encroach upon Samaria, and subjugating the tribes east of Jordan, continued its progress to Edom, where it established itself in Elath on the Red Sea^b. But its promising growth was cut short by Assyria.

In primeval antiquity, ages before Abraham came to Haran out of the land of the Chaldees, Nimrod "began to be a mighty one in the earth. And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh," all in the plain of Babylonia.

* Compare the Greek *πόλεις*.

^b 2 Kings xvi. 6.

We may from the facts, if not from testimony, conclude that the immense fortifications of Babylon were raised before Asshur went forth to found his colonies: for the colonies had fortifications of the same kind. The people were well able to construct them: they had before built the wondrous Tower of Babel. The description that has been given by the ancients of the fortifications of Babylon, entirely trustworthy, unanimous, unless in minor differences, from the best authorities—for instance, Alexander's companions—deserves our fullest confidence. The particulars need not be repeated here: as to extent, they formed a square of 90 stadia, better than eleven miles to a side; and the surface embraced within the walls was 125 square miles. It is true that the greatness of the city is astonishing, and attempts have been made to reduce it. M. D'Anville^c, conscious that the figures are beyond questioning, diminishes the length of the stadium, and dismissing the matter with a *ne peut être que*, fixes the side at six miles and the square surface at thirty-six. This did not convince Mr. Rennell, who, on what may be called almost a random^d calculation of 491 feet to the stadium, sets down for us a square of seventy-two miles. Nevertheless, the classic authorities unite^e in

^c *L'Euphrate et le Tigre*, p. 113.

^d Thus by spanning with his compasses the distance of Pisa from Athens, (*Geog. Herodot.*, Section II.,) he obtains stadia of 755 to a degree. The same distance measured on the roads as laid down on the map of Professor Müller, gives 696 to a degree. In mountain scenery you do not travel as the bird flies.

^e Herodotus, ii. 149, is technically exact. The 625 feet of Pliny arise from adopting the 8 stadia, for $\frac{5000}{8} = 625$, where

ascribing six hundred Greek feet to the stadium, and eight stadia to the Roman mile. Moreover, it is truly observed by Mr. Rennell, that the ancients all speak of Babylon as of a city whose circuit was of a wonderful extent.

As for modern researches, it may be said without injustice, notwithstanding the interesting information published by Mr. Rich, that the ruins of Babylon remain, as regards the question of its magnitude, yet unexplored. No vestige of any city walls whatever has yet been discovered, nor any plan of the city even conceived in embryo. What we have learnt favours the old testimonies, for Mr. Rich tells us, "the ruins of Babylon may be said to commence from this spot," (Mohawil,) and Mohawil is nine miles from Hellah.

Without assuming certainty, we may be allowed to incline to the opinion, that the area within the walls of Babylon really covered 125 square miles. This district is related by Herodotus to have been surrounded by walls in height 200 royal cubits, equal to 350 Greek feet, six feet higher than the top of St. Paul's cross! Strabo, four hundred and fifty years later, gives the height at seventy-five feet. Herodotus, in a casual expression on another subject¹, places the build-

being 5000 feet in a Roman mile. On the other hand, the 84 stadia of Polybius arise from adopting 600 feet for $\frac{800}{9}$ = 84. So that Pliny and Polybius, in fact, coincide with the current opinions.

¹ Memoir on the *Ruins of Babylon*, 1815, p. 7.

² The Greek foot is estimated by Dr. Arbuthnot at 12·0875 English inches.

³ Herod., i. 93.

ings at Babylon side by side with those of Egypt as the most extraordinary edifices in the world.

Other works of the same kind and approximate magnitude were to be seen in that plain. Xenophon¹, on his retreat with the ten thousand, was admitted to pass the *Wall of Media*, (erected against the Medes,) not far from Babylon, built with burnt bricks and bitumen, twenty feet broad, and a hundred high, in length twenty-five miles, (spanning the isthmus between the great rivers.) But this sort of architecture was peculiarly Babylonish; we hear of nothing like it, on his march through Media², till he came again into the neighbourhood of the Babylonish colonies at Nineveh. Perisabora, described by Ammianus Marcellinus³, as of burnt bricks and bitumen, was on the Euphrates in Babylonia.

“Out of that land of Babylonia went forth Asshur,” (across the Tigris,) “and builded Nineveh, and the city Rehoboth, and Calah, and Resen, between Nineveh and Calah: the same is a great city.” This colonisation must be referred to the highest point dates can be allowed to reach, for Asshur was the son of Shem⁴. The colonists carried with them to a distance of 400 miles the remarkable taste for enormous piles of bricks. When the march of Xenophon along the eastern margin of the Tigris had proceeded so far that he must have been in the neighbourhood of Nineveh, then

¹ *Anabasis*, II. iv. 12.

² *Anabasis*, III. v. 15. Μηδίαν δι' ἧσπερ ἦκοιεν. Media was bounded westward by the Tigris.

³ Ammian. Marcel. XXIV., ii. 12.

⁴ Gen. x. 22.

ruined, he came to a city called Larissa, which Bochart seems justly to consider as the Hellenized form of Resen (la-Resen). The height of its walls was a hundred feet, the breadth twenty-five; they were of brick, and, besides, had a stone foundation of twenty feet high. It was then deserted: it had defied the efforts of Cyrus, until an eclipse of the sun terrified the besieged to such a degree, that they abandoned it to the enemy^a. The next day's march brought the Greeks to Mespila; its wall had a stone foundation of polished shelly marble; in breadth and height alike fifty feet; and on that was raised another wall of brick, a hundred feet high and fifty broad: the circuit of the walls was twenty-two miles. Nineveh was even larger than Babylon: it was "an exceeding great city of three days' journey," fortified in the same way as the other cities of the Assyrians, and its buildings contained bitumen^b.

As Nineveh actually stood within the natural limits of Media, this kingdom would of course be its first conquest. The date of the commencement of the empire, which is therefore probably that of the subjugation of Media, is placed by Mr. Clinton, accepting the authentic statements of Herodotus, at B.C. 1237^c.

^a *Phaleg.*, p. 291.

^b Xenoph. *Anab.*, III. iv. 7.

^c Xenoph. *Anab.*, III. iv. 10, λίθου ξειστοῦ κογχυλιδίου.

^d Strabo, XVI. i.

^e Jonah iii. 3.

^f Mr. Rich's *Narrative of a Residence in Koordistan*, 1836, pp. 38, 40, 41, 43, 52. Diodorus, ii. 3, pretends to describe Nineveh.

^g Ctesias (Diodorus, I. 1, 2, 3,) was not only false but absurd: he made the Assyrians come to conquer Babylon from nowhere.

Modern researches have not yet succeeded in catching the true outline of the progress of the Assyrian empire. The information we derive from Herodotus is the most scanty, as it was his intention, never fulfilled, to give some chapters on Assyria exclusively*. He tells us, however, that they governed Upper Asia for 520 (526 B.C.) years†; but when we look for an account of the growth of their power, we are wholly at a loss. An Assyrian dynasty‡ reigned in Lydia from B.C. 1221 to B.C. 716, not by conquest, but concession suggested by an oracle, perhaps as a compromise of invasion.

Were the progress of victory elsewhere rapid or tardy, we learn from hints hardly capable of misleading us, that the conquerors' attention was not turned to Syria for at least four hundred years after the commencement of the empire. When Sennacherib threatens Hezekiah, in B.C. 713, previous conquests are referred to as proofs of his resistless power. It is manifest that these conquests were not centuries old; the acquisitions named had not formed constituent parts of the empire so long, but that a memory and dread of them survived. The cities always placed first in order are those on the upper Euphrates, and from these it will be recollected Nineveh was divided by the desert of Sinjar. Hezekiah is reminded of Assyrian victories over Carchemish (*Kerkesia*), Gozan (*Kauschan*)^x, Haran

* Herod., i. 106, 184. Wesseling's *Diss.* † Herod., i. 95.

‡ Herod., i. 7. Agron, son of Ninus, son of Belus.

^x Gesenius in voce.

(the real *Carraë of Crassus*), and *Rezep*⁷ (*el Rossaf*). We may rely upon it, that at the time *Sennacherib* held up these examples in terror to the king of Judah, they were not five hundred years old, like the victories in Upper Asia. But the invaders advance beyond the Euphrates. "Where are the gods of Hamath and Arphad (*Aradus*)? Where are the gods of Sepharvaim?² and have they delivered Samaria out of my hand? Is not Samaria as Damascus³?" Thus the terrible hosts pursued a steady course of destruction and aggrandisement, coming up the stream of the Euphrates from their metropolis at Babylon, rounding the Syrian desert in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, and then pouring their countless multitudes upon the smaller principalities of Lebanon.

The rapid enlargement of the Assyrian dominion in the neighbourhood of Palestine is alluded to by the prophet Isaiah, writing about the time of Pekah: "O Assyrian—it is in his heart to destroy and cut off nations not a few—he saith, I have removed the bounds of the people, and have robbed their treasures, and I have put down the inhabitants^c," &c. Its magnificence is described by Ezekiel⁴: "Captains and rulers clothed most gorgeously, horsemen riding upon horses, all of them desirable young men."

⁷ Should we not add Canneh? See Isaiah x. 9, *Calnô*; and compare 2 Kings xix. 22, which implies Eden is on the Euphrates, with Ezekiel xxvii. 23. Ezekiel seems to name towns emporiums of the Mesopotamian traffic with Tyre.

² See note on Sepharvaim. ^a Isaiah xxxvi. 19. ^b Isaiah x. 9.

^c Isaiah x. 7, 13.

^d Chap. xxiii. 12.

The increase of this kingdom having brought it into collision with the Israelites, and threatening consequences of fatal importance, we nevertheless find the transaction in which it is introduced dismissed very shortly. "Pul, the king of Assyria, came against the land: and Menahem gave Pul a thousand talents of silver, that his hand might be with him to confirm the kingdom in his hand: and Menahem exacted the money of Israel even of all the mighty men of wealth, of each man fifty shekels of silver, to give to the king of Assyria. So the king of Assyria turned back and stayed not there in the land."

PEKAHIAH, his son, succeeded Menahem; but after two years, he also fell by one of the conspiracies so familiar to our pages. "PEKAH, the son of Remaliah, a captain of his, conspired against him, and smote him in Samaria, in the palace of the king's house . . . and reigned in his room."

Pekah and Rezin, king of Damascus, "associated" themselves in a "confederacy," to attack Ahaz, king of Judah; and when Ahaz bought the protection of Tiglath Pileser, Pul's successor, both those princes sunk under the overwhelming power of this new ally of Judah. Rezin was killed, Damascus utterly ruined, and the Assyrian came and carried captive into his own country the inhabitants of all the northern portion of Israel, "Ijon and Abel-beth-Maachah and Janoah, and Kedesh and Hazor, and Gilead and Galilee, all the land of Naphtali." This first captivity was not

* See *Isaiah* vii. 1, to ix. 8.

† See reign of Ahaz, *infra*.

sufficient to humble "the pride and stoutness" of the inhabitants of Samaria. They said, "The bricks are fallen down, but we will build with hewn stones: the sycamores are cut down, but we will change them into cedars."

After events such as these, the kingdom, never at rest, must have been in the utmost disorder. Pekah's life and reign were very shortly terminated by the conspiracy of Hoshea. But an interregnum of nine years followed before "he reigned in his stead." "The thief came in, and the troop of robbers spoiled without^b—they devoured their judges: all their kings were fallen^c. By swearing and lying, and killing and stealing, and committing adultery, they brake out, and blood touched blood^d." Against Hoshea, when at length in possession of the throne, "came up Shalmaneser, king of Assyria, and Hoshea became his servant, and gave him presents." The invasion seems to have been not unresisted. "Shalman spoiled Beth-Arbel in the day of battle: the mother was dashed in pieces upon her children^e." Arbela was a town of Galilee near Sepphoris and the lake of Gennesaret, and probably equivalent to Beth-Arbel^f.

The history of Judah will present better illustrations of the circumstances which induced Hoshea, impatient of the Assyrian yoke, to "send messengers to So, king of Egypt," and depending on the protection of that

^c Isaiah ix. 10.

^b Hosea vii. 1.

^d Hosea vii. 7.

^e Hosea iv. 2. The latter prophecies of Hosea are referred with confidence to this and the subsequent period. E. g., x. 3 "We have no king because we feared not the Lord."

^f Hosea x. 14.

¹ Reland's *Palestine*, p. 575.

alliance, to refuse the payment of his annual "present," or tribute. The revolt was utterly fatal to himself and his country; it seems to have been wholly unsupported by Egypt. "The king of Assyria came up throughout all the land, and went up to Samaria, and besieged it three years. In the ninth year of Hoshea the king of Assyria took Samaria, and carried Israel away into Assyria, and placed them in Halah, and Hara^m," (*Carrae of Crassus*,) "and in Habôr," (*the Khabour*,) "the river of Gozan," (*Kauschan*), "and in the cities of the Medes;" they were settled, therefore, on the eastern bank of the upper Euphrates. Hoshea was shut up and bound in prison. With this captivity the history of the ten tribes ends.

The transfer of the population is akin to the fate of the Cutheans, who occupied the vacant soil, of the Jews under Nebuchadnezzar, and to the practice of the Persians. A selection of the handsomest boys and girls was, in such cases, made for the houses of the great men, and the others were allowed to resume their occupations. Thus many examples occur of the removal, by the Persians, of a whole tribe to some distant settlement, where they had lands allotted them for cultivation. The Eretrians, though great offenders, were placed unharmed, by Darius, in Ardericca, thirty miles from Susa, by themselves°. The apocryphal book of Tobit

^m 1 Chron. v. 26.

ⁿ Gesenius in voce; Malte-Brun, *Geography*, vol. ii., p. 121. Edin. 1822.

° Herod., vi. 119; v. 13; vi. 3, 9.

describes some of the Israelites at Nineveh in situations of trust about the palace, others living in comfortable circumstances at Ecbatana, and in the plain of Ragan in Media, towards Armenia^p; they receive pay for their services^q, keep servants^r, travel from place to place at pleasure, and are buried honourably^s; for those who are cast out unburied^t are criminals, judicially executed, and the burial of them is a breach of the law. Compare the Captivity of the Jews. Josephus^u assures us that the ten tribes never returned to their own land; but the legend about the Septuagint translation supposes that competent translators could be procured from every one of the twelve.

The history of Israel, from the time of Jeroboam, the first usurper, who, by establishing idolatry for the national worship, made Israel to sin, has been a repetition of calamities and revolutions. The reigns of seventeen princes, excluding the short tenures of the pretenders Zimri and Shallum, average only fifteen years each; and these seventeen kings belonged to seven different families, and were placed on the throne by seven sanguinary conspiracies. To convince us that the hand of God was visible in this, inflicting successive chastisements upon a people that had received His law and had not kept it, it is only necessary to reflect that the family of David existed a hundred years after the Christian era^v, and that its possession of the sovereignty

^p Bochart, *Phaleg.*, p. 106.

^q Tobit ii. 12; xii. 1.

^r Ibid. iii. 7.

^s Ibid. xiv. 13.

^t Ibid. i. 17; ii. 3.

^u Vol. i. p. 561.

^v Euseb. *Hist. Eccl.*, iii. 19.

in Judah was interrupted only by the single usurpation of Athaliah.

NOTE.

SEPHARVAIM. By comparing Sepharvaim with Sepharaim, *Chethibh*, (2 Kings xvii. 24,) Sibraim, rather Sebaraim, where the *beth* is a clerical error, (Ezekiel xlvii. 16,) and, possibly, also Ziphron, (Numbers xxxiv. 9,) we shall find the same name in these several texts. They determine its situation to the region of Damascus, next to Hamath; and so Isaiah xxxvi. 19. Sephar was a mount of the east, that is, of Haran, as with Balaam. (Genesis xxix. 1; xxv. 6; x. 30.) Obadiah (20) speaks of the Captivity of Jerusalem which is in Sepharad, and this is distinguished from the greater Captivity. But Damascus had carried away captives. (2 Chron. xxviii. 5.)

It is some small objection to the suggestion of Michaelis, that these emigrants were the "Spartans" said in the Maccabees to be related to the Jews, first, that the communication between two places in Syria would be frequent*, and, secondly, that they were visited on the way by ambassadors going to Rome†.

* See 1 Macc. xii. 10.

† Ibid. xii. 17.

CHAPTER IX.

WE take up now the history of Judah, from the point of their separation from their brethren of Israel by the revolt of Jeroboam. We have already observed that Rehoboam was restrained from attempting to assert his hereditary rights by force.

Before we enter upon the details we must remember, in the first place, that the history of Judah is the history of a single town, Jerusalem, to which Libnah and Lachish were subject. Bethlehem and Hebron are the only places of any note besides, and they were now of no importance that we hear of. Jericho, we have already seen, was lost. Secondly, on the north, Israel was hostile, on the south-west the Philistines, and at a greater distance the far more powerful Egyptians and Ethiopians. It would be naturally the ambition of the kings of Israel to complete their dominion by the conquest of Jerusalem, which would make them masters of the whole of the descendants of Abraham. But under God's good providence they were entirely shut out and disappointed of this ambition by the nature of the country which lay north of Judah. It was so mountainous that only one direct road existed, or could exist, by the pass of Gophna, and as long as Judah had garrisoned fortresses in that pass she was in no danger. The Philistines, since the time of Saul and David, seem to be weakened and tranquil. The Ethiopians and

Egyptians may be reckoned a single enemy, though they were in reality distinct, or related as conquerors and conquered*, they have already appeared in Palestine, capturing Gezer (*Jazoor*) from the Canaanites, and transferring it to Solomon as the dowry of Pharaoh's daughter. Some interest in the affairs of the Hebrews is betokened by the refuge given to Jeroboam.

"In the fifth year of king REHOBAM," seventy-seven years since David made Jerusalem a royal residence. "Shishak, king of Egypt, came up against Jerusalem." The Libims (*Libyans*^b), Sukiims (*Troglodytæ*^c), and Ethiopians formed part of his host: he had twelve hundred chariots and sixty thousand horsemen. He "took the fenced cities which pertained to Judah, and came up against Jerusalem, and took away the treasures of the king's house; he took all." His force, though irresistible, was transitory; after the storm had passed, affairs returned to their course. This Shiskak is taken to be Sesostris.

ABIJAH attempted what had not been allowed to Rehoboam, the recovery of the revolted tribes. He defeated Jeroboam with unparalleled slaughter, but the victory availed not to the desired end.

In the reign of ASA the Ethiopians under Zerah made a fresh inroad. On this occasion, though they had "a host of a thousand thousand, and three hundred chariots," they were defeated in the valley of Zepha-

* The straight-haired Ethiopians of Asia were further physically distinguishable from the woolly-haired Ethiopians of Africa; also by language. Herodot. vii. 70.

^b Bochart, *Phaleg.*, p. 336.

^c Ibid. p. 318.

thab, on the Philistine border. The victorious Jews pursued them southwards to Gerar, a considerable distance, and carried off very much spoil.

Asa's war with Baasha, king of Israel, and the interference of the Syrians, have been formerly related. The scene of contest was the pass of Gophna, the northern key of Jerusalem. The materials abandoned by Baasha were used by Asa: he fortified Geba (Gibeah), almost on the spot Baasha had proposed to occupy, and Mizpeh, a little nearer Jerusalem.

JEHOSHAPHAT'S reign was principally occupied in the internal policy of his kingdom, and in providing it with fortified posts for defence. He ordered a judicial system, more regular than formerly; "he set judges in the land throughout all the fenced cities of Judah, city by city," with strict charge to observe equity, and with two presidents for the civil and ecclesiastical departments, and he appointed persons to instruct the population in the law of God. The condition of the country was somewhat improved in his time: he received "presents and tribute-silver" from some of the Philistines, and rams and goats from the Arabians: "he had riches and honour in abundance." To insure tranquillity on one side, at least, he made peace with the Israelites, married Athaliah, King Ahab's daughter, to his own son, and accompanied that prince to the battle of Ramoth-Gilead, where Ahab was killed. His connexion with that family led him also to assist Joram in the expedition against Moab; and thus he drew upon himself an invasion of the Moabites, Ammonites, and people of Mount Seir.

They quarrelled, however, among themselves in their encampment at Engedi, and relieved Jehoshaphat from his fears. "So the realm of Jehoshaphat was" quiet during his reign of twenty-five years. Edom and Ezion-geber were still subject to Judah; and the king equipped vessels for a trading voyage into almost unknown seas, (as among the moderns to the newly discovered Indies,) but his ships were wrecked before they left the harbour.

He was succeeded by his eldest son JEHORAM, whose first action was one not unworthy of such a woman as Jezebel in Israel, but hitherto unprecedented in the annals of Judah: "he slew all his brethren with the sword, and divers also of the princes of Israel." He had married Athaliah, out of the house of Ahab, a pernicious counsellor, and had adopted her idolatries, so that we find afterwards a house of Baal in Jerusalem, and the consecrated things of the temple of the LORD "bestowed upon Baalim^d." In his day, the Edomites, who had been subject to Judah since the time of David, revolted, "and made themselves a king." During the war against them, Jehoram was surrounded by the enemy, but "he rose up by night and smote the Edomites which compassed him in," and so released himself. The loss of Edom must have necessarily put a stop to all Indian voyages from Ezion-geber, and we

^d 2 Kings xi. 18: Joram at the time of his marriage was under eighteen: the politic Jehoshaphat erred in contracting that affinity.

hear no more of them. The town of Libnah also revolted. Jehoram's house, but not the palace in Jerusalem, was plundered of everything, even his wives, and all his sons slain, the youngest only excepted, by the Arabians and Philistines. These misfortunes were crowded into eight years, the duration of his reign. He was afflicted for two years with an incurable disease in the bowels, and died, the worst and most unhappy king Judah had yet seen.

"The inhabitants of Jerusalem made AHAZIAH, his youngest son, king in his stead: for the band of men that came with the Arabians to the camp, had slain all the eldest." The connexion of his mother with the family of Ahab, made him continue the alliance with Joram, and go down with him to Ramoth, in Gilead, which was invested by the Syrians of Damascus: there Joram was wounded, and during his illness at Jezreel, the conspiracy of Jehu was formed, which involved Ahaziah, as an ally and relative, in the destruction of the obnoxious royal family of Israel, and not only him, but forty-two of "the sons of the brethren of Ahaziah." When he saw Joram killed before his eyes, the king turned his chariot and fled. "At the going up to Gur, which is by Ibleam," some steep ascent^c on the road to Jerusalem, his horses panting with a hard gallop of some seven or eight miles, flew not so fast as the arrows

^c Athaliah escaped. Jehoahaz, the youngest son, was her son, and the successor to the throne, under the name Ahaziah.

^f Josephus, vol. i., p. 487.

of death, and the king, wounded by his pursuers, only reached Megiddo, where he died*.

"When Athaliah, the mother of Ahaziah, saw that her son was dead, she arose and destroyed all the seed royal of the house of Judah:" even her own grandchildren. But Jehoshabeath, the sister of Ahaziah, and wife of Jehoiada the priest, hid J h , an infant, with his nurse, in a chamber of the temple, "from Athaliah, so that she slew him not." For six years ATHALIAH reigned over the land, not being of the blood royal of Judah, but [grand] daughter of Omri, king of Israel. In the seventh year, Jehoiada made preparations by means of the Levites against her, retaining the priests whose turn was ended, in addition to those whose week of duty was beginning; brought out the young king JOASH, and formally crowned him as he stood by the outer pillar of the temple, presenting him with the testimony. Athaliah, coming to inquire into the cause of the rejoicing she heard, beheld the lawful heir, surrounded by the princes of the land, and crying aloud "Treason, treason," she fled to the palace. Before she reached it, she was killed at the gate. The death of the queen, who had brought Ahab's idolatry with her from Samaria, was the signal for the destruction of the house, images, and priest of Baal; nor was Jehoiada, the king's protector, slack to restore the worship of God.

* Megiddo was close to Hadadrimmon or Maximinianopolis, which was ten miles from Jezreel.—*Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum*; Reland, *Palestine*, p. 416. Some maps put it on the coast, from which it was full seventeen miles distant. It may be placed on the road from Jezreel to Samaria.

During his life and administration the temple was repaired by a national contribution; it was furnished with vessels, and the burnt-offerings were again offered, as before, continually. Happily his life was prolonged, even to a hundred and thirty years, and it seems to have reached to near the close of his ward's reign. But "after the death of Jehoiada came the princes of Judah and made obeisance to the king. Then the king hearkened unto them. And they left the house of the Lord God of their fathers, and served groves and idols." Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada, by "the Spirit of God" opposed the return to idolatry, and was stoned to death in the court of the temple. "At the end of the year," Hazael, king of Damascus, who had wounded Joram at Ramoth-Gilead, and distressed Israel in the time of Jehu, came up with "a small company of men," and defeated "a very great host" of Judah. "He fought against Gath and took it," and approached Jerusalem; but Joash, who was then ill, stripped his own palace of its valuables, and the temple of its dedicated things and treasures, and bought off the invader^b. To avenge the death of Zechariah, two men conspired against the king, who still lay sick on his bed, and murdered him.

We are willing here to glance at the condition of Judah. The kingdom of Syria had been long struggling with that of Israel; Ahab had been killed, and Joram

^b This incursion must be placed B.C. 840, for it shortly preceded the death of Joash. Joash and Jehoahaz died in one year, B.C. 839, and Hazael the year of the invasion, B.C. 840. We may conclude Zechariah died not long before, for men were still angry at his murder.

wounded in battle against it. The success, nevertheless, was not all on one side: Benhadad had been Ahab's prisoner. In Jehu's reign the tide of war turned altogether in favour of Syria. Hazael acquired the rich territory beyond Jordan, and now shewed himself for a moment at Gath, in Philistia. Edom had regained its independence in the reign of Jehoram, and was close at hand to profit by every opportunity. The Philistines were equally ready.

AMAZIAH, son of Joash, "when the kingdom was established to him," slew the assassins of his father. "He did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, but not with a perfect heart." Belonging, therefore, to the worshippers of the temple, he would look without enmity on the priesthood, and on the memory of Zechariah; and in avenging the murder of his father, he spared the children of the criminals, a lenity not usual in the East. His reign is by no means illustrious. He mustered his people, 300,000 men of war; but to excuse his own subjects, or to swell his army, he hired, for a hundred talents of silver, 100,000 of Israel. Warned, however, that the blessing of God rested not on the idolatrous men of Israel, he dismissed them; an affront which they resented by plundering his territory. With his own people he marched against Edom, took Selah (*Patra*), the capital, and smote "ten thousand" in the Valley of Salt, near the Dead Sea. "Other ten thousand left alive did the children of Judah carry away captive, and brought them unto the top of the rock, and cast them down from the top of the rock, that they were

all broken in pieces." The expression concerning Amaziah, that his heart was not perfect, is now explained, in his bringing home and worshipping the gods of Edom. His success in that quarter led him on into a singular transaction. He sent a challenge to Joash, king of Israel, "Come, let us see one another in the face." Joash declined the meeting in a curious letter, at once of peace and defiance; but Amaziah persisted, and the kings met at Bethshemesh, in the pass of Bethoron: to arrive there, the king of Israel must have taken a circuit by the sea-coast. Joash, well practised in the Syrian wars, defeated Amaziah, took him captive, carried off all the gold and silver from the temple, and the royal palace, "the hostages also," and "brake down the wall of Jerusalem from the gate of Ephraim to the corner gate, four hundred cubits." The end of Amaziah, like that of his predecessors since the marriage with Athaliah, was unhappy. A conspiracy formed against him drove him to Lachish; "but they sent to Lachish after him, and slew him there."

The reign of UZZIAH, called in the book of Kings Azariah, was splendid: "He sought the Lord, and God made him to prosper. He went forth and warred against the Philistines, and brake down the wall of Gath, and the wall of Jabneh, or Jamnia (*Yabneh*), and the wall of Ashdod." We find him also pursuing the successes of his predecessors in Edom, by fortifying Elath, on the Red Sea, next Ezion-geber: "And God helped him against the Philistines, and against the Arabians. . . . And the Ammonites gave gifts to Uzziah:

and his name spread abroad even to the entering in of Egypt. Moreover Uzziah built towers in Jerusalem, . . . and fortified them. Also he built towers in the desert, and digged many wells: for he had much cattle, both in the low country and in the plains; husbandmen also, and vinedressers in the mountains, and in Carmel," near the Dead Sea; "for he loved husbandry." He armed his people more completely, though doubtless not in armour of brass or iron, but rather, perhaps, in linen breastplates and shields of wicker. He "prepared for them shields and spears and helmets, and habergeons and bows and slings. And he made in Jerusalem engines invented by cunning men, to be on the towers and upon the bulwarks, to shoot arrows and great stones withal."

"But his heart was lifted up to his destruction: for he transgressed against the LORD his God, and went into the temple of the Lord to burn incense upon the altar of incense," an office which appertained "to the priests, the sons of Aaron." In the very act, "the leprosy rose up in his forehead, before the priests in the house of the Lord, from beside the incense altar:" and after this he was unclean, and "dwelt in a several house," while his son Jotham judged the people of the land. A great earthquake of his time is occasionally referred to by the prophets^k.

The government of JOTHAM was as prosperous as that of his father; he continued the fortifications, and

ⁱ Nabal lived there, in the story of David, 1 Sam. xxv. 2.

^k Amos i. 1; Zech. xiv. 5.

"built the high gate of the house of the Lord." He was successful in a war with the Ammonites, and received of them for three years "a hundred talents of silver, ten thousand measures of wheat, and ten thousand of barley."

AHAZ, son of Jotham, attached himself to idolatry, which, encouraged as it had been by former kings, and practised by surrounding nations, still existed among the inhabitants of Judah: "wherefore the Lord his God delivered him into the hand" of Rezin, king of Syria, who carried away a great multitude of captives to Damascus, and extended his acquisitions even to Elath on the Red Sea. Pekah, king of Israel, also attacked him, and with equal success, but the captives were liberated by the Israelites, who were content, on consideration of their consanguinity, to release them from slavery. Rezin and Pekah made a confederacy together to besiege Ahaz in Jerusalem, and to dethrone him, with the view of placing the son of Tabeal¹ in his room, "but they could not overcome him." The Edomites and Philistines also took advantage of the depression of the country, and as it served their purpose, and corresponded with their manners, severally took captives or towns. In his distress, the king called in the aid of Tiglath Pileser, the powerful emperor of Assyria, who, bribed by all the valuable articles Ahaz could collect, "helped him not," by friendly succour, but was rather a burden to him, yet used the pretext of his alliance or submission to attack Rezin and Pekah. Rezin was

¹ Isaiah vii. 6.

killed, Damascus taken (and burnt?), and Syria annexed to the Assyrian empire as a subordinate province; and all this without the record even of a battle, so incomparably stronger was Assyria. Ahaz and Tiglath Pileser met in Damascus, contemplating the fruits of victory, and Ahaz is recorded to have borrowed from thence the pattern of an altar which he made. Pekah also, as we have seen before, was stripped of part of his kingdom. While his enemies suffered so severely, we gather that Ahaz himself was bound to pay tribute to Assyria^a.

The first five chapters of the book of Isaiah contain, amidst prophetic denunciations and glorious promises, many allusions to the actual state of things when they were written, the first three years of the reign of Ahaz. The corruptions of the land are pointed out in strong terms: "Ah! sinful nation, a people laden with iniquity, a seed of evil doers, children that are corrupters," &c. "Thy princes are rebellious, and companions of thieves; every one loveth gifts, and followeth after rewards; they judge not the fatherless, neither doth the cause of the widow come unto them:" and chapters the first and fifth everywhere. The misery that overspread the land is also vividly depicted: "Your country is desolate, your cities are burned with fire: your land strangers devour it in your presence, and it is desolate as overthrown by strangers. And the daughter of Zion is left as a cottage in a vineyard, as a lodge in a garden of cucumbers, as a besieged city. . . .

^a 2 Kings xviii. 7, 20. It is not expressly asserted.

Jerusalem is ruined, and Judah is fallen. . . . people are gone into captivity (to Damascus), . their honourable men are famished, and their multitude dried up with thirst. . . . Hell hath enlarged herself, and opened her mouth without measure."

The seventh, eighth, part of the ninth, and the seventeenth chapters, refer to the historical facts lately stated "In the days of Ahaz, . . . Rezin, the king of Syria and Pekah the son of Remaliah, king of Israel, went up toward Jerusalem, to war against it, but could not prevail against it. . . . The riches of Damascus, and the spoil of Samaria, shall be taken away before the king of Assyria. . . . Behold, Damascus is taken away from being a city, and it shall be a ruinous heap. . . . Every battle of the warrior is with confused noise, and garments rolled in blood, but this shall be with burning, and fuel of fire." Compare the signification of the word "Maher-shalal-hash-baz." Seize the spoil! Grasp the prey!

HEZEKIAH was as zealous in the cause of God as his father Ahaz had been indifferent: "In the first year of his reign, in the first month, he opened the doors of the house of the Lord, and repaired them." He cleansed and sanctified the Temple, and restored its services. "The thing was done suddenly." He invited also to the passover, not only his own subjects, but the Israelites, who might be supposed willing to join their brethren, now that their own kingdom of Samaria was crumbling into ruins, and evidently near its desolation. The people, influenced by the king's devotion, went out

to the cities of Judah and Ephraim, and destroyed the instruments of idolatry.

Hezekiah "rebelled against the king of Assyria, and served him not;" that is, he refused to pay the tribute which had been imposed on Ahaz. No reason is stated for this resolution; it was, humanly, clear madness to set up a little principality, with a population of a few hundred thousands, against the vast and rapidly increasing empire of Assyria. Only two motives can, it is believed, be assigned for this step; first, that Hezekiah had convinced himself, as in a matter of faith, that being a sincere worshipper of God, he should experience (which he did) the protection of the Almighty,—a confidence in harmony with some injunctions of the great prophet of his time; or, secondly, that, unable to satisfy the severe demands of his superior, despair drove him to a resistance, which he expected would receive the support of Egypt and Ethiopia, powerful kingdoms to which the swelling tide of Assyrian conquest had not reached. It is at least certain, that whatever was his motive, a party in Judah, whose proceedings imply the king's participation, endeavoured to obtain the support, which Egypt, obviously threatened, might reasonably be supposed ready to give against its formidable adversary. The first twenty-six verses of the thirtieth chapter of Isaiah were evidently composed at the time when these solicitations had been tried, and had, so far, failed: "Woe to the rebellious children, that take counsel . . . to strengthen themselves in the strength of Pharaoh, and to trust in the shadow of Egypt! . . .

For his princes were at Zoan [*Tanis*], and his ambassadors came to Hanes; they were all ashamed of a people that could not profit them, nor be a help nor profit, but a shame, and also a reproach." The party which supported this alliance had an example in Hoshea, king of Israel, who was led into rebellion by relying on So, king of Egypt, about ten years before. The few facts we possess in these times, leave us in some doubt as to their arrangement. Egypt seems to have been in a weak state, but Ethiopia strong and victorious. She had been mistress of Egypt for fifty years just before this, and had receded only out of superstition, in fear of an oracle and dream^a.

When the Assyrian Sennacherib approached with his immense forces, intended not only to punish Judah, but to forward his designs upon Egypt, and to extend his dominions to the Mediterranean coast,—forces far beyond Hezekiah's resistance,—the king and his people, filled with terror, trembled at the coming vengeance. And not without cause: "In the fourteenth year of King Hezekiah did Sennacherib king of Assyria come up against all the fenced cities of Judah, and took them." He directed his exertions chiefly against those towns, as Lachish and Libnah, and perhaps Ashdod^o, which lay towards Egypt, and would contribute to the pur-

^a Herodot., ii. 137, 139. Isaiah confirms Herodotus by often joining Egypt and Ethiopia. The chapters which denounce the Egyptian alliance are the twentieth, the thirtieth to verse 26, and the thirty-first. The Assyrian summons of surrender refers to it: xxxvi. 6, 9.

^o Isaiah xx. 1, if Sargon and Sennacherib be the same.

poses of his ambition in that quarter. Hezekiah, whose fortitude gave way, sent a message of submission: "I have offended; return from me; that which thou putttest on me will I bear." The sum demanded was "three hundred talents of silver, and thirty talents of gold." To procure this, it was requisite to rob the Temple of its treasures, and to strip it of its ornaments. But even that did not suffice; the purpose of the emperor was to deprive the Jews of incentives to tumult, by removing them to another part of his dominions. He sent his generals, Tartan, and Rabsaris, and Rabshakeh, with a strong force, to present these conditions, and enforce compliance. But they were intolerable: the king, encouraged by Isaiah with a now definite and precise prospect of deliverance, ("he shall not come into this city, nor shoot an arrow there," &c.) and preferring everything to slavery, resolved on defence; and, with his clothes rent, covered with sackcloth, he spread the blasphemies of Sennacherib's letter, containing a reiteration of his demands, in the Temple before the Lord. He prepared also for the siege, by stopping the fountains outside the city, or bringing the channels for their water within the protection of the walls; by repairing the breaches, and "pulling down houses to fortify the wall." The messengers returned to their master at Libnah, and there a miracle was wrought for the safety of Judah, as remarkable as any recorded in the Old

^p The desolation and distress of Judea are vividly painted, together with a prospect of splendid relief, in Isaiah xxiv. to xxvii.

^q This preparation is all mentioned, Isaiah xxii.; he alludes also to traitors within the city.

Testament: "The angel of the Lord went forth, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians a hundred and fourscore and five thousand; and when" men "arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses."

It is at least interesting to find this destruction in the pages of profane history. We have already seen that the rapid progress of the Assyrian arms was a just cause of alarm to the Egyptians, and that they were pointed out by the measures of Sennacherib himself, as the prize he had ultimately in view; it was natural, therefore, that the discomfiture, which removed their fears, should have a place in their annals. Setho, king of Egypt, Herodotus tells us, belonging himself to the priesthood, took from the soldier caste of the Egyptians their allotment of land (twelve *arouræ* a man), and reduced their station; consequently, that he was unsupported by them when "Sanacharib," king of "the Arabians, and Assyrians" brought a great army against him. Instructed, however, by a vision, he occupied Pelusium, the frontier fortress, with a number of artisans unskilled in war; and a host of mice gnawed the belts, bow-strings, and shield-straps of his adversaries, so that they fled the next day, and many fell. "And now," continues the historian, "a stone statue of that king stands in the temple of Vulcan, holding in his hand a mouse, with the legend, 'Look on me, and fear God.'" The truth, though obscured in this story, has left us the fact of a strange and unexpected event, which

^r Herodot., ii. 141.

ruined the army of Sennacherib*. It requires, indeed, no more than the words, that one hundred and eighty-five thousand men perished in one night, without sword or trumpet, to establish the miracle. The means by which it was accomplished, which, in other miracles, were often natural causes, supernatural in their direction and intensity, remain undetermined.

Three such causes have been suggested. 1. A thunder storm. 2. The plague. 3. The samiel. I am willing to believe that the last is pointed out in Scripture. There are three distinct prophetic pieces contained in Isaiah (xxx. 27 to xxxiii. end), which mention in the way of prediction this event. In the first it is said of Jehovah, "His lips are full of indignation, and his tongue as a *devouring fire*;" the funeral pyre of Tophet is "ordained of old;" at the king's command "it is prepared: he hath made it deep and large: the pile thereof is fire and much wood: and the *breath of the Lord like a stream of brimstone* doth kindle it." In the second, "The Lord whose *fire* is in Zion and his *furnace* in Jerusalem." In the third, "As for your breath, *fire shall devour* you, and the people shall be as the burnings of lime; as thorns cut up shall they be burned in the fire:" and similarly. There is little doubt about the subject referred to: the

* Michaelis, on a hint from Horapollo, that the mouse was the emblem of destruction, has supposed that Herodotus misinterpreted an Egyptian hieroglyphic. This is singularly ingenious; but Herodotus had seen too many hieroglyphics to be thus hasty. Rather his native interpreter was imperfectly informed of the story, and introduced the mouse to account for it in the statue before him.

Assyrians are named in the two first portions, and a spoiler speaking a foreign tongue is distinctly marked in the third. Add to these the expression in the historical chapters, (xxxvi. to xxxix. end,) "I will send a *blast* upon him¹." It is to be observed that the prophetic parts of the book of Isaiah are separate and independent testimonies which have their own weight in showing that a miracle did take place.

The destruction of this army of invaders gave Judah some respite, and added a hundred and fifteen years to the duration of the kingdom. The assassination of Sennacherib by his own sons, and the Median revolt which reduced Assyria from an empire to a kingdom, followed close upon it. Fifty days, indeed, according to the apocryphal book of Tobit, did not elapse before the murder of the "fugitive" king: and it seems doubtful whether Merodach Baladan, who, soon after, sent from Babylon, where astronomy received much attention, to inquire of Hezekiah concerning "the wonder that was done in the land," in his recovery from sickness, and the extraordinary celestial phenomenon that accompanied it, were not a king rendered independent by the ruin of the rightful dynasty². At this point, certainly, we may consider as closed the connexion of Jewish history with Assyria, that is, with the Ninevite kingdom. The name, indeed, occurs again, because the Babylonish empire was really

¹ Rosenmüller objects to the *samiel*, that it blows only in the daytime, and is fatal to those alone who turn their faces towards it. Then, again, the event was miraculous.

² Tobit i. 21; Isaiah xxxix. 1.

Assyrian^v: but many rebellious provinces were interposed between the Holy Land and those its old oppressors; nor could we expect from the circumstances of Asia, any re-appearance of the original Assyrian invaders, though, later, we recognise the fulfilment of prophecy in the sack and utter destruction of their vast metropolis, Nineveh, by the victorious Medes under Cyaxares.

Hezekiah's son, MANASSEH, succeeded his father. His idolatries were unbounded. The worship of Baalim, of the sun, moon, and stars, (borrowed from Assyria,) the sacrifice of children in the fire, enchantments and witchcrafts, are expressly mentioned against him. The wickedness of Manasseh is mentioned by Jeremiah xv. 4, and the book of Kings without qualification. His captivity, as we read it in the Chronicles, appears to me to involve difficulties; but, unwilling to pronounce rashly on those paragraphs, I prefer to leave to the sagacity of my readers the reconciliation of all the facts with one another.

The reign of AMON is noted only for a continuance of Manasseh's idolatry. He was killed by conspirators, whose crime the people punished as it deserved.

The accession of JOSIAH was an era in the religious government of the nation. He destroyed the idols and

^v A comparison of 2 Kings xxiii. 29, with 2 Chronicles xxv. 20, and Jeremiah xlvi. 2, will convince us that the Assyrian king was king of Babylon, and that the first passage contributes nothing towards fixing the date of the fall of Nineveh, though Mr. Clinton quotes it (*Fasti*, vol. i., p. 269.) But that learned work is not questioned without great diffidence. Cf. e. c. Lamentat. v. 6.

polluted with human bones their altars, not only in Judah but even in the north of Israel; an expedition which the disorganisation of the Asiatic kingdoms by the Median revolt would enable him to execute without hindrance: it is not impossible that he might even rule over the Israelite territory. In his eighteenth year he kept the passover with great observance, "nor did all the kings of Israel keep such a passover as Josiah kept." That very altar at Bethel, which had been raised by Jeroboam the son of Nebat, was now defiled with many remarkable circumstances*. The pious character of Josiah is thus summed up: "Like unto him was there no king before him, that turned to the Lord with all his heart and with all his soul, and with all his might, according to all the law of Moses; neither after him arose there any like him."

The ruin of the Assyrian domination had left the western provinces open to attack; and Egypt, which recovered its strength under a new and active ruler, Psammitichus, found itself invited to conquests in that direction. The first object was of course Philistia; indispensable to further progress, and in itself a formidable barrier against any. It is recorded that the Philistine city Ashdod stood a siege of twenty-nine years before it fell to this king*. His plan for aggrandisement was pursued by his successor Necho, to whom, if not to Psammitichus, we may refer the allusions in Jeremiah xlvii. From the heading of that chapter we

* Compare the prophecy 1 Kings xiii.

* Herodot., ii. 157. Compare Zephaniah ii. 4, 5, 6.

learn that "Pharaoh smote Gaza," and future events are announced in it, as close at hand, in the words, "Baldness is come upon Gaza; Ashkelon is cut off with the remnant of their valley." The ambitious designs, moreover, of Egypt, are distinctly marked in the pages of the prophet: "Egypt riseth up like a flood, and his waters are moved like the rivers: and he saith, I will go up and will cover the earth^γ." Josiah resolved to oppose the prosecution of these schemes: accordingly he prepared to meet Necho. The Egyptian, on the other hand, craftily disclaimed all quarrel with the king of Judah, alleging that his antagonist was the Babylonian, a recent rival in Western Asia, and in reality his proximate object. Josiah, however, distrusting his designs, ventured on a battle, which proved fatal to himself and his country. It was fought at Megiddo^δ, and the king of Judah, "sore wounded" by the archers, died before he could be brought home: the loss of the battle and their revered king paralysed the Jews, and Necho, in less than three months, took Jerusalem^ε, deposed JEHOAHAZ, elected to the throne by the people, and "condemned the land in a hundred talents of silver and a talent of gold." Jehoahaz himself was carried into Egypt and died there. "Weep ye not for the dead," (Josiah,) says the prophet,

^γ Jerem. xlv. 8.

^δ Zech. xii. 11.

^ε The capture is not mentioned in Scripture, but it is implied: it must have occurred in less than three months, for Jehoahaz reigned no longer. Herodotus, ii. 159, mentions the victory: every one admits that. But opinions are still divided about Cadytis, and the statement of the question would be too long for this place.

"neither bemoan him, but weep sore for him that goeth away: for he shall return no more, nor see his native country^b." JEHOIAKIM, his brother, and the rightful heir, was placed on the throne in his stead.

The Egyptian king after this pursued his way towards Carchemish (*Kerkesia*), on the Euphrates^c, against the Babylonians, a march which he could hardly execute without subduing a great extent of country beforehand, and we discover some proof that he had done so, in his imposing on the Phœnicians the periplus of Africa, a voyage which certainly was performed. He took the road between Antilibanus and the Desert; and at Riblah (*Rebla, Rabla*)^d, in the land of Hamath, he decided on the affairs of Judah. At Carchemish he was met by Nebuchadnezzar, who utterly defeated him, and restrained for ever the ambition of the Pharaohs. The decisive result of the conflict is evident from the expressions of Jeremiah: "Their mighty ones are beaten down, and are fled apace, and look not back: for fear was round about, saith the Lord. . . . The sword shall devour, and it shall be satiate and made drunk with their blood: for the Lord God of Hosts hath a sacrifice in the north country by the river Euphrates," &c. This important victory prepared the way for the Babylonish dominion over Judea and the West of Asia.

^b Jeremiah xxii. 10, under the name of Shallum. Compare 1 Chron. iii. 15. He was not the elder brother of Jehoiakim but younger, 2 Kings xxxiii. 31—36.

^c Jeremiah xlvi. 2.

^d Gesenius claims the discovery of the modern name. It is in the maps.

Since the fall of the empire of Nineveh, the Babylonish kings achieved nothing that has reached us, but the reign of Nebuchadnezzar was a reign of victories: excluded from the East by the Medes, he pursued a career of triumph in the West, and as the battle of Carchemish rendered Egypt incapable of opposing him, the subjugation of the small principalities became the easier. "The king of Egypt came not again any more out of his land, for the king of Babylon had taken from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates all that pertained to the king of Egypt." Pursuing his successes, he came to Jerusalem, which he took without any memorable resistance, and carried off with him to Babylon part of the treasures of the temple and a number of children of the best families to be eunuchs in his palace. The king himself was put in fetters to be carried thither, but it does not appear that he was actually removed.

Jehoiakim, after submitting as a tributary to the yoke of Babylon for three years, rebelled, and the country again suffered from the ravages of war: we do not learn distinctly what measures were taken by Nebuchadnezzar, but it appears probable that the siege, which was closed in the commencement of his son's reign, had been threatened in that of Jehoiakim; and hence we gather a reason for the absence of funeral pomp at his

* 2 Kings xxiv. 7. † Daniel (i. 6,) was among them.

‡ Josephus reckons thus: four years under Egypt to the battle of Carchemish; four years to Nebuchadnezzar's first appearance before Jerusalem; three years under Babylon; and the revolt in his eleventh and last year. But cf. Daniel i. 1. In the fifth year of his reign Jehoiakim burns the roll of the book. Jeremiah xxxvi.

death: "Thus saith the LORD concerning Jehoiakim, the son of Josiah, king of Judah; they shall not lament for him, saying, Ah, my brother! or, Ah, sister! they shall not lament for him, saying, Ah, lord! or, Ah, his glory! He shall be buried with the burial of an ass, drawn and cast forth beyond the gates of Jerusalem¹."

The consequences of the rebellion were to be felt by JEHOIACHIN, otherwise called Jeconiah. After a reign of three months and ten days, he was obliged to surrender to Nebuchadnezzar, and was carried away in captivity to Babylon¹, with seven thousand "men of valour," all the princes, and a thousand craftsmen and smiths: "none remained, save the poorest of the people of the land." The treasures, also, of the temple and palace were the spoil of the victor. Jeconiah remained a neglected exile till Evil Merodach, taking pity on him, gave him, in the thirty-seventh year of his captivity, a daily pension and a seat at the royal table.

The throne in Jerusalem was filled by ZEDEKIAH. He also became weary of the Babylonish servitude, and being solicited by the "messengers" of the king of Edom, and the king of Moab, and the king of the Ammonites, and the king of Tyrus, (Old Tyre,) and the king of Zidon¹, agreed to join their alliance in rebellion against Nebuchadnezzar, though bound to allegiance by an oath in the name of God. The rebels were unsuccessful: some of the allies proved unfaithful², and the army of the Chaldeans sat down before Jerusalem. The attack

¹ Jerem. xxii. 18.

¹ Cf. Ibid. xxii. 24.

² Id. xxvii. 3.

² Obadiah 10. Psalm cxxxvii. 7.

was, however, delayed by the advance of a host from Egypt¹, which must have been sent forth by the Apries of Herodotus, and Pharaoh Hophra of Jeremiah. This expedition, nevertheless, produced no effect^m: it seems to have retired without coming to an engagement: the Chaldeans returned to the revolted Jews, and "in the ninth year" of Zedekiah's reign "in the tenth month, in the tenth day of the month, the siege of Jerusalem was formed. The resistance of the besieged was, no doubt, such as desperate men are equal to: it appears that emancipation of the slaves was adopted as one resource", and, undoubtedly, nothing but the most stubborn determination could nerve them to endure the miseries of an eighteen months' blockade, deprived, as they had been, of their carpenters, masons, smiths, and all the craftsmen who could be most useful in such an emergency. "The famine," as time advanced, "prevailed in the city, and there was no bread." The most terrible picture of the distress is that given by the prophet Jeremiah, who fills up many details that have been omitted by the sacred historians. "Our skin was black, like an oven, because of the terrible famine. . . . Their visage is blacker than a coal: they are not known in the streets: their skin cleaveth to their bones; it is withered, it is become like a stick. . . . The hands of the pitiful women have sodden their own children, they were their meat in the destruction of the daughter of my people. . . . Shall the women eat their

¹ Jerem. xxxvii. 11.

^m Compare Lament. iv. 17.

ⁿ Jerem. xxxiv. 8, seq.

fruit, children of a span long." The extremities hunger at last drove the people to abandon the city. The men of war and the king fled by night out of Jerusalem, and took the way to Jericho: but they were overtaken; the king was made prisoner and brought up "to the king of Babylon to Riblah (*Rebla*), "and they gave judgment upon him. And they slew the sons of Zedekiah before his eyes, and put out the eyes of Zedekiah, and bound him with fetters of brass, and carried him to Babylon." The city was burnt a few days after its capture, the temple levelled with the ground^o, and the walls destroyed. The few of the people who remained were placed under the orders of Gedaliah, a Jew, who, three months afterwards, was assassinated by Ishmael, a fugitive of the seed royal. In terror at the vengeance expected to follow the murder of the governor, many of the remaining Jews, with Jeremiah, but against his strong remonstrances, emigrated into Egypt: a small remnant of seven hundred and forty-five persons were carried by Nebuzaradan into Chaldea, and thus the scene of Jewish history is transferred from Judea to Babylon.

We endeavoured, from the small hints given us, to learn what was the condition of the Israelites in the Assyrian Captivity at Nineveh, and it presented no symptoms of severity. A similar result will be obtained respecting the Jews in their residence under the same people at Babylon. Jeremiah, in Zedekiah's reign, sent a letter by certain persons to the Captivity as a com-

^o Lament. ii. 6, 7; iv. 1.

munity: in it he desires them "to build houses and dwell in them, to plant gardens, and eat the fruit of them," and to "seek the peace" of the city where they were placed^p. Among the captives, Daniel, Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, were set over the affairs of the province of Babylon: Nehemiah was the (Persian) king's cup-bearer, a wealthy person, and held in honour: Zerubbabel, though heir of the royal house of David, received considerable favours. Zerubbabel and Ezra were able to collect contributions, doubtless a fair proportion of the total offerings, from the Jews whom they left behind. Some Jews, notwithstanding, were slaves, "sold unto the heathen", . . . they took the young men to grind, and the children fell under the wood^q," but these might be circumstances not common to all; at any rate, none of the edicts about the Return treat of the Jews as in slavery; no orders are given concerning their redemption, nor is any recompense granted to their masters for the loss of their services; and if slaves, what inducements could keep them in Babylonia? Those who remained were, no doubt, settled in houses and properties of their own. "It is a common saying among the Jews, that they were only the bran, that is, the dregs of the people that returned to Jerusalem after the end of the Captivity, and that all the fine flour staid behind at Babylon^r."

^p Jerem. xxix. 5, 7.

^q Nehem. v. 14.

^r Nehem. v. 8.

^s Lament. v. 13.

* Prideaux, *Connexion*, vol. i., p. 193; from the Talmud.

CHAPTER X.

THE period of the Captivity was declared in prophecy by Jeremiah to be seventy years, and another prophet mentions it when past as of that duration^a. It was ended shortly after the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus. Scripture itself most distinctly recognises the victor, in whom all other accounts agree^b; but it presents us with Darius the Mede, for whom profane history does not present a determinate parallel^c. Herodotus is the substantial authority for these ages, and his accordance with the inspired pages is curious and instructive. The last king of Babylon, with him, is Labynetus the son, whose father is cotemporary, and therefore identified, with Nebuchadnezzar^d. The mother of the latter Labynetus (*Belshazzar*) was a reigning queen Nitocris, corresponding very well with the queen in the book of Daniel, who takes no part in the festivity, but enters after the appearance of the handwriting, and names to Belshazzar, Daniel, his father's confidential interpreter

^a Jerem. xxv. 11, xxix. 10; Zechariah vii. 5; Daniel ix. 2; Josephus, p. 547.

^b Isaiah xlv. 1, &c.

^c Besides Daniel, Isaiah xxi. 2, "Go up, O Elam, besiege, O Media;" and Jeremiah li. 11, 28, "The Lord hath raised up the spirit of the kings of the Medes: for his device is against Babylon to destroy it." Esther i. 19, "The laws of the Persians and the Medes."

^d Labynetus the father mediated peace, Herod. i. 74, between Cyaxares, who died in 595 B.C., and Alyattes; and not during the Scythian occupation of Asia, nor for five years after, that is, after 601 B.C.

of ominous signs—from these hints, Belshazzar's mother rather than his wife. Now, according to Herodotus, after the battle in which Cyrus defeated and made a prisoner of his grandfather, Astyages, king of Media, he treated him with all respect; and henceforth, in foreign relations, Medes and Persians are synonymous terms. Astyages could not be Darius the Mede, for he must have been much more than seventy years old in B.C. 538. The tale of Xenophon, not indeed an historical work, nor intended to be taken for such, names Cyaxares a son of Astyages, who might, for anything to the contrary, be Darius the Mede: he would be maternal uncle of Cyrus, and entitled to an honourable station. Thus also, in the book of Daniel, Darius was "made" king*. Besides the uncertainty about Darius the Mede, the scantiness of our materials has left room for a doubt whether Belshazzar were, in a literal sense, the son of Nebuchadnezzar; and Wesselling† interprets Jeremiah xxvii. 7, to make that prince his grandson.

The termination of the Captivity was the act of Cyrus, prophetically summoned to the trust. We can scarcely doubt but that the Jews had petitioned for this favour: they had been taught to look forward to a time of restoration and of glory, not only by the older prophets, but during their exile by Ezekiel; their wishes for return were inflamed by the announcement of a great deliverer, whose advent could not occur more properly, they thought, than in a period of distress; and

* Daniel ix. 1.

† Wess. ad Herodot., I. 185.

some of them being in the service of the palace, would secure a hearing to the memorials of their countrymen. The edict of Cyrus permitted all Jews to return to Palestine, to rebuild the temple, to collect money from those who preferred remaining in the East, and restored the valuable sacred vessels which Nebuchadnezzar had taken away.

The conduct of the Return was given to Sheshbazzar, constituted prince or governor by Cyrus, and the same with Zerubbabel^ε. Very little, however, was done: an altar was made, the services commenced, and the foundation of the Temple of the Lord was laid. The work was altogether stopped by an order of Artaxerxes (Cambyses?)

In the second year of Darius, (son of Hystaspes), Zerubbabel having some favour at court^η, and urged by the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, procured a fresh edict, that the temple should be restored, and every facility afforded by the surrounding governors. The work then proceeded rapidly, and the temple was finished on the sixth day of the month Adar, in the sixth year of the reign of Darius the king, (515 B.C.) Some were present who had seen the earlier temple

^ε Josephus, p. 550=*Antiq.*, XI. iii. 1. Zerubbabel the governor "returned" from Jerusalem to Darius; and Zerubbabel's first proceedings were certainly under Cyrus' writ, even according to the apocryphal Esdras v. 68.

^η Esdras iv.; Josephus, *Ant.*, XI. iii. That Darius, the son of Hystaspes, is meant, is shown from Ezra iii. 12; Haggai ii. 3: it also appears from Ezra iii. 2; Nehem. xii. 6; Haggai i. 1, &c. whence Jeshua, the high priest of the Return, was son of Josedek, who went into captivity, 1 Chron. vi. 15; Reland, *Ant. Sacr.*, p. 156; Josephus, p. 550.

before its destruction, in B.C. 587¹. The whole number of the persons who emigrated with Zerubbabel, reckoning servants or slaves also, was near fifty thousand. In the seventh year of Artaxerxes (Longimanus), Ezra the priest brought a new colony to Jerusalem (1754 males), with the fruits of a collection made among the Mesopotamian Jews, and increased by the bounty of the Persian king and nobles. Ezra persuaded the people to renounce unlawful intermarriages with the surrounding nations, but did nothing towards the renovation of the city.

In the twentieth year of Artaxerxes (Longimanus¹), nearly a hundred years after the edict of Cyrus, Nehemiah learning that affairs in Judea were in a bad state, that the "remnant" of his nation were in great affliction and reproach, and the walls of Jerusalem broken down, just as the Babylonians had left them, obtained as a personal favour of Artaxerxes, whose cup-bearer he was, leave of absence to visit the land of his fathers, and rebuild the walls. In Oriental despotisms, the court-servants enjoy privileges which in European governments are the lot of the aristocracy and ministers of state. Nehemiah, invested with the dignity of governor, carried with him a guard of honour, "captains of the army and horsemen," and orders for a supply of materials from the royal demesnes. By the

¹ Ezra iii. 12; Haggai ii. 3.

² The length of his reign, more than thirty-two years, and the succession of high priests, Nehem. xii. 10, between Cyrus and Alexander, make this probable. Josephus calls him Xerxes, whose reign is too short.

exertions of the population and the new governor, the wall was completed in fifty-two days. Some time was employed by him in arranging the services of the temple, the tribute which supplied its expenses, the observance of the sabbaths, and other ordinances of the law. Ezra the scribe, we find, was zealous in promoting this object by reading and explaining the law to the people. Nehemiah returned to Babylon, and revisiting his work subsequently, he found renewed vigour requisite to restrain the breaches of the Sabbath and the laxity that prevailed, even in the sacerdotal caste, about marrying foreigners: this, with similar abuses, are also denounced by the last prophet, Malachi.

The sacred canon of the Old Testament is now closed at a point sufficiently marked: the refortification of the capital of Judea, and the renewal of the ceremonies of the law.

CHAPTER XI.

IN the reign of Artaxerxes Ochus, Jeshua (*Ἰησοῦς*) was named by the Persian governor to supersede Johanan, his brother, in the high priesthood; but Johanan killed him in the temple. The Persian punished the crime and the resistance to his authority by a tax of fifty drachmæ on every sacrificial lamb, for seven years; and used the occurrence as a pretext to enter the sanctuary. "Am not I," said he, "more clean than his corpse?" We learn from this unhappy event, that the high priesthood was now an office capable of exciting ambition and bad passions, and worth the attention of the provincial ruler; moreover, that the daily rites were duly observed.

An unlawful intermarriage of Manasseh, son of Johanan, and brother of Jaddua, with a daughter of one Sanballat, "satrap" of Samaria, led to the exclusion of the offender from the holy services, and to the establishment of a temple on Mount Gerizim, as a rival to that in Jerusalem. This was the commencement of the Samaritan heresy, and of the extreme hatred that prevailed between that people and the Jews^b.

* Artaxerxes Ochus, not Mnemon, if Bagoses in Josephus is Bagoas of Diodorus, xv. 47, et seq., which is probable.

^b See the parable of the good Samaritan, Luke x. 25 to 37; the woman of Samaria, John iv. 1 to 42; the refusal to entertain our Lord, Luke ix. 51 to 56. The secession perhaps should be dated earlier. See Nehemiah xiii. 28.

On the conquest by Alexander, Judea, along with the rest of the Persian provinces, passed to their governors. Connected with this transfer is an episode which, though it is severed from all that precedes and follows, and leaves no effects behind it, cannot properly be omitted here. Alexander, while engaged in the siege of (New) Tyre, says Josephus, sent a summons to Jerusalem: the reply was, that as long as Darius was alive, they could not fail in their allegiance. This answer could not have been suggested by any hopes of support from the Persian king, for he had been stripped of all his immediate resources by the battle of Issus, and might, perhaps, as far as could be known, never have made head again. Some time afterwards, Alexander approached Jerusalem; resistance was not, it seems, thought of, and would indeed have been useless. Jaddua, after his former refusal, knew not how he should meet the king. He desired the prayers of the people, and himself entreated, with sacrifice, the interposition of the Almighty. God, as he slept, commanded him to welcome the conqueror with signs of joy, to hang the streets with garlands, to open the gates, to clothe the people in white, and himself, with the priests, to go and meet Alexander, in their splendid robes of office. When they came near, the king, to the astonishment of all, bowed his head before the high priest of the Jews, and before the name of God which was inscribed on the golden plate of his turban. When Parmenio asked an explanation, he said, "I worship God, whose high priest this man is: for in this same

dress I saw him in my sleep at Dium, in Macedonia. As I thought with myself how I should subdue Asia, he exhorted me without delay to cross into this continent, and promised that he would lead my troops, and give me the Persian kingdom." After this, Alexander entered the city, sacrificed, and saw the prophecy of Daniel (viii. 21; x. 20). He also conceded, as a boon to the people, the enjoyment of their own laws, and exemption from tribute during the sabbatical year. This story has not met with much credit. The Greek historians of Alexander, some of them lovers of the wonderful, have not alluded to it. The close of the sacred canon seems to suppose also an end of miracles.

CHAPTER XII.

Two hundred and twenty years after the capture of Babylon by Cyrus, Jewish history revives, under an aspect altogether new. The Philistines, Moabites, Ammonites, Phœnicians, of former times, constituted only morsels of the broad empire of the Persians and of Alexander the Great: their nationality was terminated for ever, and their names serve only to mark the situation of a town or the extraction of some obscure individual. The Arabians and Edomites, whom we shall know under the denomination of Idumeans, retained more independence, and though bowed were not broken before the flood. During the permanence of the Oriental dominion from Cyrus to Alexander, the provinces had no separate annals nor existence: a table of reigns is sufficient information respecting them. But when the death of the splendid Macedonian shattered at a single blow and beyond recovery this vast and varied empire into fragments never re-united, infinite confusion followed, till a loose connexion was restored, and the broken particles arranged themselves into separate yet uncemented groups. None of the officers promoted to thrones having any substantial claim to the possession of their allotted provinces, nor any solid hold upon the affections of their troops, those who were expelled from one principality started up in another, and all being Macedonians alike, a fine army

in the face of an enemy often dwindled by desertion in a few days to a handful.

Geographical position and its great native resources gave Egypt a unity of its own: it was seized and firmly held by the first Ptolemy, for distinction called Soter. Judea lay so near, that we must expect to find it much dependent upon the Egyptian monarchs. The deserts of Arabia, however, form a natural barrier, attributing the Holy Land as a constituent part to Syria. Twenty-two years after Alexander's death, Seleucus Nicator acquired extensive dominions, of which, attracted by his Macedonian origin to the Mediterranean, he fixed the capital at Antioch, in the north of Syria: and from him descended the Seleucidæ, known, according to the Roman view of their situation, as kings of Syria, though a better idea of their territories would be conveyed, if they were entitled kings of the East. Closely adjacent to Antioch, the capital of the Seleucidæ, we shall find Palestine alternately in the hands of Syria or of Egypt, till the weakness of both gave it an integrity by itself.

On Alexander's death, then, in the understanding to which the leading men had come, Syria was assigned to Laomedon*: but he never became a person of consequence in the vicissitudes of fortune; and Ptolemy Soter, from Egypt, invaded the country by his general Nicanor, defeated and captured Laomedon, and in a short campaign possessed himself of the whole territory. Perhaps it was at this period that, as Josephus tell us,

* Diodorus, xviii. 3, 39.

Ptolemy entered Jerusalem on the Sabbath, and removed large numbers of the Jews to Alexandria^b. His possession, nevertheless, was only temporary; his troops were driven out by Antigonos, who held the position afterwards occupied by the Seleucidæ, and who continued the master of Syria till his death.

In August, B.C. 301, the various kings combined against Antigonos, who was defeated and killed, aged eighty, in the great battle of Ipsus in Phrygia, where the troops on both sides amounted to more than 1,300,000 men. Judea, along with the other provinces, followed, of course, the fortune of war: it was transferred to Seleucus Nicator, the first of the Seleucidæ, who ceded it to Ptolemy Soter of Egypt, as an acknowledgment of the aid he had received from him previously, when ruined by Antigonos^c.

Judea was subject to Egypt during the reigns of Soter, Philadelphus, Euergetes, Philopator, and was lost by Epiphanes.

The reign of the second king of Egypt, Ptolemy Philadelphus, is occupied in the narrative of Josephus by the account of presents he forwarded to the temple at Jerusalem, and his promotion of the Septuagint translation. According to the account we have of the latter affair, Ptolemy, anxious to render the Alexandrine library as complete as possible, proposed to the high priest that seventy-two trustworthy men, six from

^b Appian, *Syriac.*, 50.

^c Plutarch in *Demetrio*, sec. 28, 33; Diodorus, xix. 90, 91; Polybius, v. 67.

each tribe, should be sent into Egypt to turn the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek. The work was completed in seventy-two days, and when the separate translations were compared, they were found to be expressed every one in precisely the same words^d. The original source of this story has been shown to be unworthy of credit, and in particular it has been pointed out that a variation in the Septuagint translation of Isaiah xix. 18, shows that it was made after the building of Onias' temple in Egypt^e.

Of Ptolemy Euergetes it is mentioned that his sister, Berenice, queen of Antiochus Theus, having been murdered by a rival wife, Ptolemy successfully invaded the dominions of the Seleucidæ, and extended his Syrian possessions to very near their capital^f.

In the reign of Ptolemy Philopator, Syria became the scene of war. Divided by a desert of five days' march from Egypt, the sovereigns of Antioch would consider it as geographically allotted to their dominions; and Antiochus the Great, a successful prince, who only forfeited his title to that surname by his Roman war, attempted to add this home province to his more distant dominions. Harried away by youthful ardour, —he was then only five-and-twenty,—he lost the con-

^d Philo Judeus, *De Vita Moysis*, ii. p. 139, ed. Mangey. Aristæas (printed in Havercamp's *Josephus*), and Josephus after him, speak of one translation made by common consultation.

^e Prideaux, *Connexion*, vol. iii., p. 396. The story is examined in the same work, vol. iii., p. 38 to 62.

^f Appian, *Syriac.*, 63; Daniel xi. 6 to 9. The intrigues of the tax-gatherers, narrated at length in Josephus, are not worth inserting anywhere: they seem to belong to Epiphanes.

considerable battle of Raphia (B.C. 217) to Philopator, in every respect his inferior, and having no confidence in his own subjects at Antioch, was glad to make peace on easy terms.

In B.C. 205 Philopator died, leaving a son Epiphanes, a child of five years old, to occupy his throne. Antiochus, whose ambition soared, yet unclipped, and whose military capacity had been matured and proclaimed to men, by his excellent campaigns in the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea, now joined the king of Macedonia^a in a scheme to dismember the Egyptian empire. In pursuance of this aim he defeated Scopas, the general of Ptolemy Epiphanes, in a decisive battle near the sources of the Jordan, and Judea with the surrounding territories thus were lost to the kingdom of Egypt, after having been subject to five Ptolemies, and became an appendage of the crown of Syria^b. The connexion with Egypt, though broken, was not, however, entirely dis severed, for now a new and tremendous power made Eastern monarchs tremble, and it became the interest of Antiochus to strengthen himself against the Romans by alliances with the neighbouring potentates. He gave one of his daughters to the king of Cappadocia, offered another to the king of Pergamus, who, proposing to ally himself on the Roman side, declined the honour, and Cleopatra was affianced and married to Ptolemy. The marriage took

^a Philip, who was defeated by Flaminius at Cynoscephalæ.

^b The decrees of Antiochus at this date, preserved by Josephus, are of no interest or importance.

place on the eve of the rupture with the Republic, and only a year or two before that battle of Magnesia which humbled the great Antiochus and stripped him of all his Phrygian provinces. It had been one condition of the marriage settlement of Cleopatra and Ptolemy, that Cœle-Syria should form a dowry for the queen. The cession, however, it appears, never took place, for the condition was itself afterwards denied¹; and as we cannot impute breach of engagement to Antiochus when it was his interest to keep it, we may well accept the information of Josephus that a half of the revenues only was conceded to Egypt. We have here from Josephus some intrigues among the financial officers, which are not of interest.

From this time, therefore, until rendered independent by the valour of the Maccabees, we must consider Palestine, or rather in a more limited sense, Judea, as subject to the Seleucidæ. From the letter of Demetrius Soter¹ we learn the fiscal exactions of those princes to have been a third part of the seed, that is, the crop of all kinds of grain; one-half of the crop of all kinds of fruit, olives, grapes, and figs; a gratuity to furnish gold for the royal crown, (the *aurum coronarium* of the Latins,) extorted at the accession of each successive prince; a tax on salt, or monopoly of the pits²; and five thousand shekels of silver abstracted from the revenues the Jews paid yearly in half shekels

¹ Polyb. xxviii. 17.

¹ 1 Macc. x.

² Conf. 1 Macc. xi. 35.

to the temple. The entire amount was afterwards commuted for three hundred talents¹.

The reign of the Syrian king Seleucus Philopater passes without notice; the partition of the revenues of Judea, Samaria, Phœnice, and Coele-Syria probably continued, for Cleopatra was still alive, and thus Seleucus was brother of the queen of Egypt; an affinity which would tend to maintain quiet. To the reign of Seleucus belongs, by way of episode, the story of Heliodorus, which we find in the second book of Maccabees, but which is disregarded by Josephus, who could see no profit in such a narrative after the time of Pompey, and of Titus. Seleucus, according to Jason, the Jew of Cyrene², sent Heliodorus to obtain, by what means he best might, the treasures deposited in the temple of Jerusalem. No active resistance appears to have been made to the entrance of the envoy; but the prayers of priests and people were anxiously poured forth towards heaven, that God would himself providentially interfere for the security of the sacred deposit. Heliodorus, on the day of his proposed scrutiny, was met at the threshold by a terrible horseman, in magnificent armour, accompanied by two young men of great strength, glory, and brightness. The fearful rider, rushing on the trespasser, struck him down with his horse's hoofs, and the young men scourged him as he lay, one standing on each side of him, till he was borne away by his attend-

¹ 1 Macc. xi. 28; add 2 Macc. iv. 8.

² 2 Maccabees is an abridgment of his five books. Ch. ii. 23.

ants in a state of insensibility. After this infliction of vengeance, Heliodorus continued in danger of his life, until the high-priest offered up his prayers before the altar that the hand of Divine wrath might be removed from him: after which the Greek returned to his master, full of thankfulness that his punishment had not been more severe. This story being related of the reign of Seleucus Philopator, will fall towards the middle of the period which intervenes between the last prophet of the old dispensation, and the coming of the Saviour to found a new and better covenant. It is, therefore, strongly open to the objection which is based upon the canon of Scripture, that direct Divine interpositions were suspended during those four centuries. The name of its author will not give it additional credibility.

From transactions arising out of the treaty which the Romans imposed on Antiochus the Great, Demetrius, who ought to have succeeded his father, Seleucus Philopator, was detained a hostage at Rome, and the throne was filled by Antiochus Epiphanes, brother of the last king. This circumstance laid the foundation of civil wars, which were of great advantage to the Jews in their struggles for liberty under the Maccabees.

On the death of Cleopatra, Antiochus invaded Egypt, where his ambitious schemes were roughly stopped by a peremptory order of the Roman senate, delivered in the most arrogant manner possible by Popillius Lænas. The result of the battle of Pydna, and the existence of

Demetrius at Rome, account for the humility of Epiphanesⁿ.

While Antiochus was in Egypt, some false rumour of his death reached Jerusalem, and was the signal for tumult and commotion between two parties of the Jews at enmity about the office of the high-priesthood. Antiochus, to whom neither the origin nor existence of the disorder could be agreeable, returned to Judea, (B.C. 170, or 169,) as to a province in a state of insurrection, and plundered the city, as if he had taken it by storm from an enemy. He entered himself the Holy of Holies, despoiled the temple of its table of shewbread, its candlestick, its censors, its vessels, and its golden coverings, and carried off the treasures of the nation laid up there. "There was great sorrow upon Israel. The rulers and the elders groaned; the young men and maidens fainted; and the beauty of the women was changed. Every bridegroom took up mourning; and she that sat in the chamber was in grief. And the whole house of Israel put on shame." Two years afterwards^o a visitation still more lamentable fell upon the devoted city. Antiochus (whose name Epiphanes, "the illustrious," a judicious historian tells us, ought

ⁿ That extraordinary diplomatic scene really occurred. Livy, XLIV. 19; XLV. 11. Polyb., xxviii. 16—19. Appian, *Syriac.*, 66. Cicero, *Philipp.*, VIII. 8. Plutarch, *Apophthegm.*, 32. Valer. Max., VI. iv. 3. Vell. Patere., I. x. 1. Hieron. Daniel xi. Justin, XXXIV. iii.

^o B.C. 168 or 167; 1 Macc. i. 29; Josephus, *Antiq.*, XII. v. 4. The era of the Seleucidæ began autumn 312 B.C.

rather to have been Epimanes, "the madman,") had devised a scheme for reducing the various forms of religious belief which existed within his dominions,—the Persian fire-worshippers, the Babylonian servants of the stars, the Phœnician idolators of Dagon, and the Jewish followers of Moses' law,—to one single profession, namely, that which he himself most approved, the Grecian polytheism. In execution of this preposterous and impolitic notion, he sent a commissioner to render the temple unfit for the prescribed ceremonies usually performed there, and to convert it into an edifice sacred to Olympian Jupiter⁹. To carry this edict into effect, his agent polluted the altar and holy place by the sacrifice of the forbidden swine, sprinkled the blood and broth of it all around, put a stop to the daily sacrifice, to the great festivals, to the rite of circumcision, and burnt the copies of the law. Revelry and debauchery filled the courts once too holy for ordinary feet; the rites of Bacchus shamed the city of David; and the Sabbath was unobserved. The country and the villages were visited with this persecution not less than the metropolis. Idols were presented to the worshippers for their homage; altars were erected, and on them swine were offered and partaken of by the reluctant Jews. Though some were found willing to adopt a new creed, and among them the high-priest, yet such proceedings could not be introduced among a people so obstinately attached to their ancient institutions, as the Jews have always been, without great violence. Swine's

flesh was forced down their throats; two women who had circumcised their children were crucified with the infants hanging at their knees: and in the seventh chapter of 2 Maccabees, the torments of the boiling cauldron and the frying-pan are related to have been unsuccessfully applied to seven sons of one mother, who in their very deaths defied their murderers^a.

It could not be, in the nature of men, but that injustice so cruel, and tyranny so insolent, should meet with a fierce and desperate resistance. The men who led that resistance, and brought it to something of a successful issue, were the brave and glorious family of the Maccabees, or Asamoneans. There was one Mattathias, a priest, who, with his five sons, for quiet removed from Jerusalem to Modin, an obscure village near Iamniat, hoping, perhaps, that the heathen would not find them out there. But the commissioners for the introduction of the idol-worship came, and in vain requested that Mattathias would set the example of submission to the royal command. What he refused to do, another, however, volunteered, and approached to sacrifice upon the altar prepared for the unlawful ceremony. At such a sight, the indignation of the aged priest made his blood boil within him; he leaped forward, killed

^a Besides Josephus and the book of Maccabees, Diodorus adds his testimony. *Fragm.*, lib. xxxiv.

^r The tomb of the Maccabees is still shown a short distance from the modern town Ramah, (*Radzivil, Ierosol. Peregr.*, p. 122,) and may well be the real tomb. Prideaux should have translated τῶν πλεόντων *qui navigare solent*. *Connex.*, vol. ii., p. 398. 1 Macc. xiii. 29. Maundrell, p. 92.

the apostate upon the altar itself, and then slew the Syrian commissioner. After this there was no safety but in flight, and he, with his sons, and hundreds of others, took refuge in the wilderness, and caves of the mountains, feeding upon the wild produce of the uncultivated land*. In this retreat they were hunted after, and a thousand were slain on one Sabbath, whenceforth they resolved on defending themselves on that day. It would appear that the hardships to which they were obliged to submit, proved too severe for the old age of the high-spirited father of the Maccabees, for he soon died, leaving them an exhortation full of religious feeling and courage, never to surrender their trust in God. After his death, the talents and fortitude of Judas the Maccabee began to raise his country from her degraded condition. He had but small means for the great actions he achieved; bands of peasants, untaught in war, armed but inefficiently, destitute entirely of all the aids and appliances of military skill, even of provisions, but burning with fury against the heathen oppressor, and glad to sacrifice their lives in the cause of God and victory. He must have been educated, during his wanderings and concealments, in the best methods of rendering his small force available; and the lessons that events offered, were well read by his active and penetrating mind. Wherever he went, all the information respecting the enemy's movements that he could desire, was conveyed to him eagerly by the people around, who would not utter to the Syrian even a

* 2 Macc. v. 27.

whisper of his purposes. Thoroughly acquainted with all the glens and valleys of his mountain land, he could appear at any hour he pleased before the hostile camp, or watch their evolutions from the summits of his cliffs. He would never fail to remind his followers, that Jehovah was with them, and against their adversaries, and to recount the signal instances of triumph familiar to their ears, when His right hand had been outstretched to confound the host of the oppressors. Knowing the mixed character of Syrian armies, and the variety of their language, he dashed after midnight into the midst of their camps, and his watch-word was the holy name of the Lord of Hosts. By such a course of operations, his countrymen began to consider him as the appointed instrument of their deliverance, and to invest him with a divine commission; nothing, under his command, seemed too hard for them. General after general was discomfited, and army after army disorganised; and they could even, by their rapid and unexpected assaults, make themselves masters of fortified places. In three years that elapsed after the pollution of the Temple (B.C. 168 to 165), he had beaten and driven out of Judea, not by battles, but by sudden and paralyzing attacks, no less than four generals with regular and numerous armies.

In entering on the details of the successes of Judas, we observe the state of the parties—Syrian garrisons in Jerusalem and the Philistine towns, but the insurgents in possession of the open country. The disturbed state of Judea first called forth Apollonius, a district com-

mander from Samaria; he, we are simply told, was defeated and killed, his sword henceforth serving Judas for a memento of victory and a trusty weapon. The insurrection next required the attention of Seron, provincial governor of Syria; he approached by the Mediterranean coast and Bethoron, a pass which we find constantly preferred by those who were masters of the maritime towns, but formerly, on account of the hostility of the Philistines, rarely used by the kings of Israel. Judas "leapt upon him suddenly," while entangled in the pass, and drove him, with the loss of eight hundred men, to take refuge in the walls of the Philistine fortresses. The means at the disposal of the local government having thus failed, an army was assembled, and Ptolemy (Dorymenis f.), Nicanor, and Gorgias, led forty thousand infantry and seven thousand cavalry towards the same pass of Bethoron. The army was followed by numerous slave merchants, to whom Nicanor promised ninety Jews per talent, about two pounds a head¹. The Jews, on their part, kept a great religious meeting at Mizpeh, to entreat God for success, and they then pitched on the south of Emmaus (*Nicopolis*). Gorgias, with a strong division, was despatched to make a circuit; and in his absence, Judas, with three thousand men, who had neither efficient protective armour nor swords "as they wished," burst, in the morning dusk, over the enemies' stockade, attacked that great army, well disciplined in

¹ 2 Macc. viii. 11. Ptolemy, perhaps, was not present: he was governor of Syria, it appears, (viii. 8,) after Seron.

war, scattered them to Gezer, Azotus (*Asdod*), and Jamnia (*Yabneh*), fortified towns at hand (within two miles), and burnt their camp. Just after this, the smoke still rising towards the sky, Gorgias, who had been vainly seeking our hero in the mountains, showed the head of his detachment, but finding Judas cautiously prepared for him, withdrew in the same direction. The rebellion had now assumed a very serious character, and Lysias, governor of half the Syrian empire, resolved to superintend the operations in person. Avoiding the dangerous defiles entirely, he came by Idumea, that is, by the valley of Hebron, with sixty thousand infantry and five thousand horse, and pitched in Bethzur, between Hebron and Jerusalem. At this place, Judas, whose previous exploits had assembled round him ten thousand men, attacked him, and though not actually victorious, displayed such desperation, that Lysias thought it prudent to withdraw again to Antioch.

Three years after the desolation of the Holy Place, Judas went up to Jerusalem, and on the same month and day as that of the pollution, he set up again, with unhewn stone, the altar of whole burnt-offering, spread out the veils, or curtains, re-lighted the sacred candlesticks, offered up incense, and placed shewbread on the table, with the sound of sacred instruments of music. He restored also the doors and walls of the temple, and kept a festival of eight days on the joyful occasion*.

That it was possible for him so to enter and remain

* This festival of dedication, or "renewal," is mentioned by St. John, x. 22.

in the metropolis, and act thus contrary to the scheme of the king, which had been the cause of the rebellion, shows that he had wrought a great change in the face of affairs. But though there was no force to oppose him, the royal troops were ready at any moment to assemble again in Judea, and a fortress in Jerusalem itself was garrisoned by Syrians. This fortress was not on Mount Sion, but in Acra, or the lower city². It was probably the Baris, or tower which was afterwards called Antonia; though a certain statement of Josephus¹, scarcely credible in itself, is at variance with the supposition.

After some further desultory and successful warfare of the Jewish hero, Antiochus Epiphanes died in Persia (B.C. 164), and his son Antiochus Eupator, a mere child, succeeded him. Lysias, who had been left lieutenant of the western moiety of the kingdom, and who had already felt the prowess of Judas, assumed the regency; and invading Judea as before, on the south side, through Idumea, with the young prince in person, he was met by the Maccabee, who seems to have had a larger company than usual, and amongst them some who were in correspondence with the enemy². Judas charged with his usual vigour; his brother Eleazar singled out the largest and most richly caparisoned elephant, supposing it bore the king, and striking right and left, reached it, stabbed it in the belly, and was

¹ Mount Sion, 1 Macc. x. 11, was in the hands of Jonathan, but the fortress belonged to the Syrians.

² Josephus, vol. i., p. 655.

² See 2 Macc. xiii. 21.

crushed to death by its fall. But the army of Lysias advanced, took Bethzur (between Jerusalem and Hebron), which the Jews had fortified, and relieved the garrison in Jerusalem, who were pressed by Judas. The victorious expedition was, however, unable to make further progress; it was interrupted by news, that Philip, a courtier who had been entrusted by the deceased king with the custody of his son, had arrived at Antioch, and was taking measures adverse certainly to Lysias, and perhaps to his sovereign. Lysias, who had probably brought the prince with him, only that he might preserve the authority his person would give, returned to vindicate his influence in the capital, and Judas was left again master of the country.

And now other events, the causes of which have been touched upon before, distracted the Syrian government, and not only secured the Maccabees, but made them important and influential governors. Demetrius (Soter) the son of Seleucus Philopator, being very young, had borne the occupation of his hereditary throne by his uncle, Antiochus Epiphanes; but on the accession of Eupator, having arrived at the age of twenty-one, while the reigning prince was only nine, he felt that the tide of hope was at the flood, and that he must assert his title now or abandon it altogether. Impatient of his detention at Rome, he in vain brought his case before the senate, and requested his dismissal, and he consequently resolved on an escape, which he easily and successfully executed*. On his arrival in

* A full account is in Polyb. xxxi. 19, who was in the secret.

Syria, the unhappy Eupator, and his guardian, Lysias, fell into his hands, and were put to death, (B.C. 162.)

The impunity of Judas could not be acceptable to the Syrian party among the Jews, who were looked upon by him as apostates and blasphemers, and who had indeed so far adopted the views of Antiochus Epiphanes, as to drop their real names and substitute Greek appellations. They appealed, therefore, not in vain, to Demetrius, for his encouragement, and he sent Nicanor with a force quite adequate against the irregular band of Judas. After a while, however, Nicanor fell, near Bethoron, in that fatal defile, before the enterprising chief, and his head and hand were displayed in the streets of Jerusalem. Bacchides was more successful: in an engagement, of which the place is doubtful, Judas, victorious over the right wing, and hurried away by the ardour of pursuit, was attacked in the rear by the unbroken troops of the left, and a thousand wounds numbered him with the dead. "Jonathan and Simon took him up and buried him in Modin, in the tomb of his fathers. And all Israel mourned him with a great mourning, and sorrowed many days, and said, How is the mighty fallen that saved Israel."

The death of Judas seemed to break the spell that surrounded with heavenly protection the chosen hero, and a time of great tribulation followed. Numbers submitted to the foreign yoke, and deserted the struggle for freedom: the Syrian party administered the government, and were masters of the country; they searched out the adherents of Judas, and brought them to

Bacchides for judgment. Jonathan, the new leader of the patriotic band, was obliged to retire; yet, when encircled by the Syrian general, he fought his way through the enemy, with a loss to them of a thousand men. Bacchides and his party had full possession of Judea for two years; many towns being occupied by regularly-provisioned garrisons—the Acra of Jerusalem, Jericho, Emmaus, Bethoron, Gezer, Timnath, and Bethel,—and the sons of the principal men being detained as hostages. Jonathan, during these two years, was unmolested; for the immediate object of the Syrian king, and the token of his sovereignty, had been the maintenance of the Hellenizing Alcimus, or Jachim, in the high-priesthood: at his death, therefore, by paralysis, consequent, as is half suggested, upon some innovations of his about the Temple, Bacchides himself left Judea, and active operations were suspended. A new attempt to seize Jonathan altered the face of affairs: the aggression was repulsed; his little fortress was besieged, but he burnt the machines; and the attack ended in an arrangement by which Bacchides withdrew, and Jonathan, taking up his residence openly in Michmash, judged the people.

From the accession of Demetrius, ten years were reckoned, when Alexander Bala, an impostor, who pretended to the crown as a son of Epiphanes, gained a vote of the Roman senate, jealous of Demetrius's escape, in his favour, and seized Ptolemais. Jonathan, as the known popular leader of his countrymen, was solicited on either hand, and on Bala's presentation

assumed the robes and insignia of the sacred office of high-priest (at the feast of Tabernacles, B.C. 151); the offers of Demetrius, outbidding his rival, were distrusted. Jonathan collected considerable forces, and seems to have contributed to the victory of the impostor, by whom he was well received, and appointed to the united civil and military command of the district. Two years later, Demetrius Nicator, the son of Soter, and, his father being killed, the legitimate king of Syria, attacked the pretender Bala. Apollonius, a general of his, opposed Jonathan; and, unwilling to enter the mountains, sent him a challenge to battle in the plain of Jamnia, "where were no rocks and holes to hide in." Jonathan baffled and defeated him even in the plain, took Joppa and Ashdod, or Azotus, and destroyed with fire the house of Dagon, in or near that city. As an acknowledgment of these services, his sovereign, Alexander, sent him a golden fibula or clasp; a token of high rank, worn only by the royal family, or through special concession. Bala shortly perished in a quarrel with Ptolemy Philometor, and Nicator was seated on the throne. Jonathan, in the rapidity of the revolution, had not decisively espoused, but had yet rather favoured, Alexander's cause, and was accused before the new king for besieging the Syrian garrison in the Acra. He was accordingly summoned to court; a mandate which was received with some hesitation, as there was evidently danger in obedience, while a refusal would render him and his party obnoxious to the sovereign. Jonathan, against his

friends' counsel, determined on complying, and went on Demetrius at Ptolemais, where, by handsome presents, he paid his homage, and by fair words conciliated the royal favour. When our authorities are merely Jewish, we do not obtain much insight into the connexion of events, and we must therefore rest satisfied with this account of the means employed, or the motives in operation, for the friendly reception of the high-priest and his confirmation in his honours.

Some time afterwards, Jonathan, or some Jews who were under his influence, were of real service to Demetrius (Nicator). The king had disbanded the large armies kept on foot by his predecessors, and retained only a body-guard of Cretans. The people of Antioch, always prone to insurrection, now rose, with or without cause, and, like the Paris mobs of our own days, attacked the palace with arms in their hands; but three thousand Jews, who were in the town, took part in the king's defence, defeated the insurgents, and were gratified with the plunder of the turbulent city. Demetrius, however, even after this, kept Jonathan in strict subjection, and extended no special favour to the Jews: thus the keys of their country, Bethzur, &c., were still occupied by Syrian garrisons.

Judea, as may be seen by the sketch we have already given, was so united with Syria, for good or ill, that it is impossible to follow the history of the former without comprehending, in our view, the vicissitudes of the empire of which it formed a part. Even our guides, Josephus and the first book of Maccabees, willing as

they are to dwell on personal feats of valour, on orations or praises of their heroes, find it impracticable to dispense with the mention of the changes continually occurring among the Syrian despots. (See the Table of Syrian reigns.) The seed of civil dissension that had been sown by the establishment of Antiochus Epiphanes, the younger brother, on the throne, continued to produce abundant fruit. Diodotus, otherwise called Trypho, calculating on the dissatisfaction of the disbanded troops, produced the son of Bala, a mere child, as king, drove Demetrius before him, and got possession of the capital, Antioch. Jonathan, remembering probably the estimation in which he had stood with the father of this child, and finding himself but indifferently treated by Demetrius, devoted himself to the new candidate, and had a skirmish near the Lake Genesareth with the troops of his antagonist. Driven out of Antioch, (Demetrius) Nicator passed the Euphrates, and contented himself with the government of the central provinces.

During these commotions, Jonathan, looking for a time when he should be independent of Syria, sent, after an example set by his brother Judas, an embassy to Rome, a state ready to interfere in the affairs of all nations, and contracted a treaty of alliance^b. The

^b 1 Macc. viii. 23 gives the treaty with Judas, copied with a spurious addition by Josephus, *Antiq.*, XII. x. 6. The alleged communication between the Jews and the Lacedemonians, is, perhaps, an error in the name, Sparta. Joseph., *Ant.*, XII. iv. 10., p. 606. 1 Macc. xii. 2; xiv. 20. Joseph., *Ant.*, XIII. v. 8., p. 648. *Michaelis*. See note on Sepharvaim.

Romans indirectly had been the causes of the troubles of Syria: they had stopped Antiochus the Great by defeat near Magnesia, and had checked Epiphane their ambassadors in Egypt; thus nipping the growth of the empire externally: and internally, also, their contention of the rightful heir at Rome had been the cause of the civil wars. As for the alliance with the Jews which they agreed, it had on their part no other object than to afford a handle of interference, when desirable; yet, as events turned out, it was never acted on, and goes for nothing.

Trypho, rid of Demetrius Nicator, began to entertain designs of usurping the throne himself: and as Jonathan, who had owed much to Alexander Bala, might feel some attachment for the young prince, or pretended prince, his son, and prove an obstacle to these schemes; he, therefore, under the guise of the warmest friendship, entrapped the unsuspecting Maccabee into Ptolemais, and, after slaughtering his attendants, seized his person. The distress which the Jews felt, and which they had the most unhappy reason to feel, at this reverse, brought about too by means so infamous, was somewhat alleviated by the decision and promptitude of Simon, who declared that, his brother being lost, he would himself be their leader. Trypho, to follow up his advantage, attempted to enter Judea with his forces, and at Adida, the situation of which is uncertain, was met by Simon, prepared for the conflict. The base regent sent a message, stating that Jonathan was in arrest for the debt due to the royal exchequer, and that, if a hundred

talents of silver, and two of Jonathan's sons were sent him, the high priest himself should be liberated. Simon might easily see through this falsehood, but, unwilling to have any responsibility for his brother's life imputed to him, he did as the regent desired, yet the promise was not fulfilled. A principal desire of Trypho was to relieve the garrison in Jerusalem, shut up with a circumvallation by Jonathan, and straitened for provisions: disappointed then at Adida, he made a circuit, watched by Simon from the heights, southward by Adora; but still in vain, he durst not attempt the defiles; and having executed Jonathan in Gilead, he retired northwards.

Finding that Trypho did nothing but plunder the country, Simon turned his eyes towards the rightful sovereign, and sent a request to Demetrius (Nicator) in the Eastern Provinces, that Judea might be allowed, by a royal grant from him, to assume her independence. The answer, as policy required, was favourable, and was interpreted, it seems, to be a concession of their desire; the Jews began to date their records by the years of Simon, and "the yoke of the Gentiles was removed from Israel." In the same year, Trypho, under cover of an operation for the stone, murdered his ward, the young Antiochus (Dionysus).

Simon was happy in his government of his people.

^c 1 Macc. xiii. 41, "in the 170th year" of the era of the Seleucidæ, which began B.C. 312. Josephus places this grant of Demetrius after his Parthian captivity; contrary to the Maccabees, and to probability. See Mr. Clinton's *Fasts*, vol. iii., p. 329, for a discussion of the chronology.

He completed, by a capitulation, the siege of the garrison in Jerusalem, which had been commenced by Jonathan, and took some of the towns on the coast, especially Joppa and Gezer, of which he retained possession. "The husbandmen tilled the field in peace, and the earth gave forth her crops, and the trees of the plain their fruits. The old men sat in the streets; all talked together of their blessings; and the young men put on the glory and the harness of war. Every one sat under his own vine and his own fig-tree, and there was none to terrify them."

Antiochus (Sidetes), brother of Demetrius Nicator, attacked Trypho on the western side, and drove him into Dora, on the coast of Palestine: as long, therefore, as affairs were doubtful, he confirmed former grants to Simon, with leave also to coin money in his own name: but when the fortune of war was turned in his favour, he sent a remonstrance against the occupation of the maritime towns that had been taken. The reply of Simon to this remonstrance was not altogether satisfactory to Antiochus, and some aggressions commenced, which Simon successfully repelled; but, B.C. 135, he was treacherously killed, with Judas and Mattathias his sons, at a banquet*. Simon was the last of the five

* Gaza, 1 Macc. xiii. 43, is a false reading for Gazara; and all the successes of Simon lay among the towns at the mouth of the valley of Bethoron.

* The authentic first book of Maccabees closes here. Appian, *Syriacis*, 67—70, gives an outline of the history of the kings of Syria. A connected account of Syrian affairs, from Demetrius Soter to Antiochus Sidetes, is given by Justin, libb. xxxv. xxxvi.

sons of the brave old priest Mattathias. Besides Judas and Jonathan, Eleazar had been crushed to death by the elephant, and Johanan, or John, was killed by the sons of Jambri of Medaba, during the hour of distress after Judas's death, when Jonathan and Simon were fugitives.

Antecedent to this murder, Demetrius, acting against the Parthians in Upper Asia, had been taken prisoner B.C. 138, and was detained in honourable captivity; consequently, until his return, Antiochus (Sidetes), his brother, occupied the throne. Scarcely, therefore, had the divisions which had resulted from the accession of Antiochus Epiphanes been closed, by the successive destruction of the pretenders Alexander Bala, Antiochus Dionysus, and Trypho (Diodotus), than another cause of intestine disturbance arose in the existence of two brothers, both kings of Syria, one on the throne, one in captivity; and these elements of discord were multiplied by the marriage of Demetrius to Rhodogune, sister^f of the Parthian king, and of Antiochus to Cleopatra^g, his elder brother's queen.

Antiochus Sidetes^h, on coming to the kingdom, had reason enough for hostility to the predominant Macbean party of the Jews, with whom the whole nation may now be considered as identified, for their success

^f Sister; Appian, *Syr.*, 67. Daughter; Justin xxxviii. 9. But as a Parthian king died during Demetrius's captivity, the difference almost vanishes.

^g Cleopatra had been also married to Bala. She was only daughter of Ptolemy Philometor of Egypt.

^h Sidetes is called by Josephus, *Soter*.

had done away with the remains of the Hellenising or Grecian apostates. They had been partisans of two usurpers and impostors, who are ejected by indifferent historians from the catalogue of the Syrian kings, although their illegitimacy is, with reason, not alluded to by the Jewish writers. They had ventured to call themselves independent, and even to increase their territory by conquest,—a conquest which could only be made at the expense of their former sovereigns; and they had been so confident in their own resources, as to meet and repulse the general who had received a royal commission on their borders. Antiochus Sidetes, upon the murder of Simon, advanced against John Hyrcanus, his surviving son and successor, in the first year of his high-priesthood. He drove him into Jerusalem and besieged the town, which, by famine, was compelled to surrender. The king was moderate; he received five hundred talents, or ten thousand pounds sterling, the arms, some hostages as pledges of loyalty, and he pulled down the fortifications of the city¹. During the siege, according to the somewhat marvellous narrative of Josephus, at the feast of tabernacles, the king, instead of pressing his operations, granted seven days' time for the due celebration of the festival, contributed victims, with horns gilt, for sacrifice, and "gold and silver vessels" full of perfumes (incense). No further transactions of this reign are recorded, save that Hyrcanus (John) served under Antiochus in a campaign

¹ Diodor., *Fragm.*, lib. xxxiv. agrees.

against the Parthians, in which the king lost his life^k. During the war, the Parthians, to produce a diversion in Syria, had sent off their captive Demetrius (Nicator) to Antioch, who was thus restored to his rightful throne, just as his brother's death left it unoccupied. But the affairs of Syria fell at this time into confusion, by the appearance of pretenders, and by the ambition of younger branches, all weak and all wicked, so that Hyrcanus was able to treat their authority with contempt, and to rule his province as he would. In his external relations, it may be noted that he destroyed Samaria, even to the last vestige, and compelled the Idumeans to conform to the Jewish rites, even to circumcision. These Idumeans were the ancient Edomites; but (as is conjectured), during the Babylonish captivity, they had been driven out of Mount Seir by the Nabathean Arabs, and they settled in the southern part of Judea, with Hebron for their principal town^l, where they remained.

The reverence in which the memory of Hyrcanus was held among the Jews, may be learnt from the prophetic character with which they invested him. He had, they tell us, immediate communication with the Deity, on many occasions specified, and foretold future events. Prosperity, however, wrought some change even in him. His father and his uncle, engaged in a

^k For the campaign, see Justin xxxviii. 10. That Hyrcanus obtained three thousand talents, or six hundred thousand pounds sterling, from David's tomb, as Josephus tells us, does not deserve a place in our sketch of the history.

^l Josephus, vol. ii., p. 303.

religious war, and having no certain resource but the ardour of the people, could never have been capable of leading and directing their enthusiasm if they had not been themselves imbued with strong and fervent feelings. They were therefore Pharisees, for the negative doctrines of the Sadducees held out no hope of future recompense for devoted zeal in this life, and detracted from those observances, which helped men to reckon themselves righteous and servers of God. The Maccabees consequently, and the desperate bands who supported them in their perilous and furious enterprises, belonged to that sect which assumed to be not as other men are, and had superadded to pure religion, a system of superstition well fitted to sustain a fanatic and wild courage. But in his power and exaltation it was no longer morally essential to the station of John (Hyrcanus) that he should be the object of veneration to the vulgar; nor was their affection even politically necessary to him, after he had set on foot a standing body of troops. Upon the occurrence, therefore, of a personal insult at an entertainment he gave to the sect of his fathers, he thought fit in his anger to estrange himself from the whole party, who did not visit the offender, as he desired, and thus ventured on a step which would have been instantly ruinous to any Maccabee before him, and which brought a load of unpopularity upon his sons after him.

On the death of John (Hyrcanus), his eldest son Aristobulus assumed the government and even a diadem. The altered character of the supremacy of

the Asamonean family now becomes painfully manifest. Aristobulus imprisoned his mother—who was starved to death in her dungeon—and his brothers, Antigonus excepted. By an unhappy mistake, and the malicious insinuations of spiteful gossips, Antigonus was killed under orders of Aristobulus, who, filled with horror at his crime, died of the shock shortly afterwards. We may hope that this acuteness of feeling, and some testimony to the mildness of his disposition, will tend to acquit him of a participation in his mother's death.

The single year of Aristobulus was followed by the longer sovereignty of Alexander Jannæus his brother. This king and high-priest by title must be looked upon as really a tyrant. Surrounded with Pisidian and Cilician mercenaries, detested by the populace, who in one instance pelted him with citrons^m while executing his sacred office, endangered by perpetual insurrection and rebellion, or employing himself in enlarging his territories out of the spoils of the dismembered and crumbling empire of Syria, he differs in no respect from the potentates or adventurers who alternately gained and lost inconsequential battles against him, and who, like himself, were but the agents and the sport of a general anarchy. To unravel the transactions in which he took his part, sometimes dictating to and oppressing the weak, sometimes fawning on the strong, would require not merely a rapid notice, but an exact

^m The citrons or pomecitrons of the feast of tabernacles, were a tradition; explained from the Talmudists, by Lightfoot, *Works*, vol. i., p. 976.

distinction of the Antiochi, Seleuci, and Deme were pushing for the crown of Syria, and the P and Cleopatras, who were caballing for that of His civil wars, for they were more than ret would occupy some space; in the course of th crucified eight hundred of the Pharisee faction drove eight thousand into banishment. But dism such details, it suffices to say that he was lord of towns which were never reckoned Jewish on al frontiers of his little territory: and that a di brought on by drunkenness terminated his reign twenty-seven years.

In the early part of his reign, the Asamonean dynasty had arrived at its greatest eminence. Judas, the founder of their success, left rather a terrible name than substantial acquisitions behind him: at his death the fortresses that commanded Judea were in the hand of the Syrians. Jonathan's administration, however reduced Bethzur and every strong hold in Judea, except the garrison in Jerusalem; and Alexander Bala added Ekron to his territory^a. Simon took Joppa, Gezer and the Acra, or citadel of Jerusalem. Hyrcanus extended his conquests into Idumea and Samaria. He took Sychem, destroyed Samaria and the temple on Mount Gerizim, added the Idumeans to his nation and in Moabitis made himself master of Medaba. Aristobulus did something in Ituræa. Alexander took Gaza and Gadara (*Omkeis*), so that he was king of nearly what is called Palestine; Ptolemais, Sidon, Tyre

^a 1 Macc. x. 89.

Turris Stratonis or Cæsarea, and Dora, being exceptions to his sovereignty.

Taught by incessant turmoil the serious nature of the error that had been committed by his father John, in abandoning the popular tenets and sect, Jannæus on his deathbed recommended his hopeless wife to throw herself at once and completely into the hands of the Pharisees, and to give them even the disposal of his own corpse, that, if they would, they might indulge their rage upon it. She took the advice,—the Pharisees buried her husband with unusual pomp, and supported her in the government, with her son Hyrcanus for high-priest, during nine years that remained of her life. But the connexions that had been formed by the Asamonean family since the rupture of John with the Pharisees, more than thirty years, were not to be broken off by the secession of Alexandra. The opposition or Jannæan party, headed by the second son, Aristobulus, showed a disposition to resist the measures of the new administration, especially when retaliation commenced, and the advisers of the bloody vengeance of Jannæus (Alexander) were held responsible for the lives that had been sacrificed. On the illness and death of Alexandra, this opposition was openly declared, and thus civil broils again commenced, between two factions headed by the two brothers Hyrcanus and Aristobulus.

CHAPTER XIII.

A NEW era now approached, and new masters deprived the Jews of their restless and petty independence. The Romans, who (B.C. 190) had beaten Antiochus the Great in Lydia, and had shorn off from the kingdom of the Seleucidæ the provinces north of Mount Taurus, had been occupied in extending their dominion, consolidating it at every new outbreak, and disputing for the supremacy among themselves down to the time we now speak of. The Mithridatic war had involved in its consequences the overthrow of Tigranes, king of Armenia. This monarch, during the divisions in Syria, had embraced it within his own rule, and on his defeat by Lucullus (B.C. 69), abandoned it after an occupation of fourteen years. Open, therefore, to a new governor, it gave the title of king to Antiochus Asiaticus; but when Tigranes surrendered to Pompey, the Roman claimed Syria as having formed one of the Armenian provinces.

Judea had not been actually nor formally subjected to Tigranes, but, small as it was, and rent by fraternal quarrels, it would have been disposed of by the despotic republicans, even if it had not been considered as an integral part of the kingdom of Syria. Aristobulus and Hyrcanus referred their disputes to Pompey, who, influenced altogether by a consideration for his own profit and coming triumph, determined nothing decisively,

but allowing events to develope occasions for his interference, received the readiest submission from Hyrcanus and a doubtful hesitating opposition from Aristobulus. The latter, conscious of the necessity for obedience, came, however, to Pompey's quarters, and signified that he had laid aside all thoughts of resistance, and was ready to surrender Jerusalem to the Roman forces. When Pompey, nevertheless, sent Gabinius to that city, the gates were closed against him by the partisans of Aristobulus, who was then arrested, as one who played false with his promises. Pompey then himself advanced against the town, whereupon, as the population was not all of one mind, and the constituted authorities had openly placed themselves under that general's protection, he was received into the city and fortified palace, but was excluded from the principal fortress, the Temple itself, by the friends of the dissatisfied Aristobulus. The Temple, surrounded on three sides by ravines of tremendous depth, and consequently connected with the upper city only by a bridge, then broken down, was capable of a very serious and obstinate resistance. The attack, or siege, was urged upon the north side, where the ravine was filled up by felled timber, and the walls were shaken by the customary machines supplied from Tyre. Three months were occupied by the siege, and, in B.C. 63*, the

* In the consulship of M. T. Cicero and C. Antony : Josephus, p. 689. December ; Mr. Clinton, *Fasti*, iii. p. 176. "On the day of the fast"—Josephus—which commonly stands for the 10th of Tisri ; Levit. xxiii. 26. Philo, *Legat. Cai.*, sec. 38. The ambiguous expression, "in the third month," is paraphrased by

breach was entered by three parties, one of which was headed by Faustus, a son of the dictator Cornelius Sulla, and the Jews are said to have facilitated the capture by refusing to do more than repulse actual attacks on the Sabbath, (according to the institution of Mattathias, the father of the Maccabees,) and thus affording to the Romans an opportunity to perfect their works unmolested. Pompey's heathen presence profaned that holy of holies, which was unseen and untrodden, but by the high-priests only. After satisfying his curiosity he left the place, with its ornaments and treasures untouched, thinking, perhaps, that by removing them he should be robbing, not so much those who had resisted him, as his friend and client Hyrcanus, whom he re-established in his dignity^b.

Pompey left Scaurus in Syria, and after him Gabinius was appointed to the government. Aristobulus and his sons had been taken away prisoners by Pompey, but escaped, and gave Gabinius some trouble; yet they made no effectual struggle against their foreign masters. In a siege of Alexandrium, a small fortress, Mark Antony, who was afterwards so notorious, distinguished himself. Aristobulus was sent back to Rome a prisoner, and some years afterwards was employed by Julius Cæsar to create a diversion in Judea against the friends of Pompey, who was, of course, hated by the

Josephus himself, "in three months." *Bell. Jud.*, p. 349. ed. Haverc. So also *Bell. Jud.*, p. 68.

^b Pompey—"Captis Hierosolymis, victor nihil attigit."—*Cic. pro Flacco*, 28.

^c Cf. Plutarch, *Anton.*, 3.

disappointed Jew; but that design was frustrated by the death of Aristobulus from poison. Alexander, his son, was also despatched by the axe, under Pompey's orders, and about the same time as his father (B.C. 49). Antigonus, the other son, survived.

After Gabinus, Syria was allotted to Crassus, who assumed the government of this province as an introduction to his Parthian war. After crossing the Euphrates, and garrisoning a few towns in Mesopotamia, he occupied his winter in collecting money from the different cities, giving his personal attendance at the weighing and registering the precious metals. Among the treasures which were plundered was that of Jerusalem. The money, and all the gold about the temple, were lost on this occasion. The treasure-keeper, hoping to ransom the rest, disclosed a golden bar of great value, which Crassus, as we are told, against his promise and oath, carried away with his other booty. The amount of which the temple was deprived is estimated at 10,000 talents, or 2,000,000*l.*; "a sum," says Josephus, "not surprising, if we recollect that the temple was the national exchequer to which all Jews, in whatever part of the world they resided, were constantly contributing."

The civil wars of Judea between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, and of Rome between Pompey and Cæsar, gave opportunity to subordinate families, which would, of course, be elevated much above their natural station if they were happy enough to espouse the cause which should prove successful. Such fortune attended Anti-

pater, the father of King Herod, who was always a staunch friend of Hyrcanus, the client of Pompey, and who rendered such services to Julius Cæsar in his Alexandrine war, as to redeem himself and his patron Hyrcanus from any ill consequences of their attachment to Pompey, and to secure the protection of the all-powerful dictator. Indeed, one principal source of interest in the Jewish transactions of the time, is the gradual, skilful, and unscrupulous rise of the Herodian family to power. Cæsar granted the civil authority in Judea to Antipater, and confirmed the high-priesthood to Hyrcanus, whose disposition was so indolent and careless, that the influence of his friend Antipater was of necessity increased and established. At Cæsar's death the conspirator Cassius came to collect strength in Syria, and levied a contribution of 700 talents, or 140,000*l.*, on Judea. Antipater and his sons, Herod and Phasael, were conscious of the necessity for satisfying the Romans, whatever party might predominate in the East, and therefore exerted themselves to please Cassius by promptitude in paying in the contribution demanded. By his services in this particular, Herod seems to have secured the assistance of Cassius in revenging his father's death, which occurred this year (B.C. 42), and, as far as appears, without evidence, was laid at the door of Malichus, a friend of Hyrcanus.

Cassius led his forces to meet Antony and Octavianus at Philippi, where the East changed masters again, and fell under the power of Mark Antony. It was then the business of the provinces and cities to hasten with

tokens of submission and homage to the feet of their new ruler, and to deprecate his anger. Hyrcanus and Herod had the less difficulty in conciliating this new sovereign, as they had in their favour Antony's remembrance of the attentions he had received when he was in Judea with Gabinius. Perhaps the office Hyrcanus held might be considered as removed from civil commotions, and the presents which Herod knew it was his duty to make, were liberally paid, so that this new revolution left the authorities in Judea in the same situation as before. The handsome presents with which the goodwill of Antony was secured, make, indeed, the confirmation of Herod in his post, a transaction of the same kind as that which prevailed in other arrangements, where Antony put up the governments to sale^d.

Among the candidates for favour and protection, Antony met with the Egyptian Cleopatra, by whose fascinations he was led into a life of dissipation and luxury, and totally neglected the interests of his provinces. Beyond the Euphrates were enemies ready to take advantage of his indifference. The Parthians invaded Syria and Cilicia, (B.C. 40,) and held them unmolested till the next year. In B.C. 39, P. Ventidius defeated and killed Labienus, and in B.C. 38, Pacorus also, and so drove the barbarians out of Syria.

Antigonus, the surviving son of Aristobulus, nephew consequently of Hyrcanus, had found a refuge in Cœle-Syria, and on the invasion of the Parthians offered

^d Dio. Cass., *xlvi*. 24.

them a gratuity of a thousand talents (200,000*l.*), and five hundred women, if they would remove Hyrcanus, and give the high-priesthood to him. The invaders accepted his offer, and between force and fraud got Hyrcanus and Phasaël into their hands. Herod, with the females of his family, who were intended by Antigonus to pay the price of his promotion, escaped. To disqualify Hyrcanus for the high-priesthood, he was mutilated by the loss of his ears: Hegesippus says Antigonus bit them off*; and Phasaël, Herod's brother, died or was murdered in his captivity. Herod, through difficulties, and after a dangerous voyage, arrived at Rome, where he found Antony and Cæsar Octavianus, who united to bestow on him, somewhat to his surprise, the title of king. This gift appears partly to have been won by the engaging manners of Herod, but perhaps the condition of Syria, where an active and influential partisan would be useful, and the tried faithfulness of himself and his father to the Roman cause and its accompanying extortions, might be more weighty considerations. Thus the kingdom was passing out of the family of the Asamoneans, and the line of the Maccabees became secondary to an Idumean race, who had once been reckoned foreigners to the Jews, and who had been incorporated with that nation by conquest. Herod had already secured the influence of that noble family, for the beautiful Mariamne, granddaughter of both Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, had ac-

* Hegesippus, i. 29. "Ille autem continuo in Hyrcanum facto impetu, aures ejus dentibus suis abscidit."

accompanied his flight from Jerusalem, and was now his betrothed spouse.

On his nomination to the kingdom he returned immediately to Syria, and gathered means for making opposition to Antigonus. But the operations in Judea were of course subservient to the Parthian war, and nothing of any value was done for him until these enemies had been driven back beyond the Euphrates. Sosius was then sent by Antony to besiege Jerusalem, and after the usual military advances, and a corresponding defence, according to the tactics of the time, the city was taken, and with it Antigonus (B.C. 38). His death was procured by Herod, who thus (B.C. 37) became, in fact, king of Judea, Idumea, Samaria, Galilee, &c., and the dynasty of the Asamoneans was closed.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE reign of Herod is marked by bloodshed and unnatural cruelties. Supported by an irresistible foreign power, he felt no responsibility to his own people, and could perpetrate the most atrocious actions without fear. Human life had been so freely lavished in the Roman civil wars and proscriptions, that no horror was excited by the successive murders in Judea; and his foulest crimes drew forth only the sarcasm, that it was better to be Herod's swine, than his son^f. He was not, indeed, of a temper to walk in the narrow path of justice amidst all the impulses which bias a despot. Those who had access to his person, and could insinuate, inflame, and irritate, used their opportunities against their private enemies, and by exaggeration, misrepresentation, or absolutely false statements, estranged him from his nearest friends, and finally compassed their ruin. There were no prudential considerations to check the torrent of anger, and it therefore launched its death warrants on the instant, for the vainest suspicion, for a calumny, or caprice. As his years advanced, a long course of success and impunity rendered his temper more prompt and unscrupulous, and singularly sensitive to suggestions, which, if he had needed to regard consequences, and to reflect, must have been instantly rejected. Despotic magnificence and bounty were

^f Macrob., *Saturn.*, ii. 4.

natural accompaniments of his station, and when intrigues endangered his credit with his Roman masters, the same skill which had obtained him royalty, preserved it for him even to the last. Among his subjects, were it possible for a tyrant to be popular, yet he could not have been so, for he affronted their feelings by introducing games on the Greek, in other words, on the heathen model; and in many other particulars showed a Hellenistic tendency.

Alexandra, the mother of Mariamne, impatient of the promotion of Ananel, a Babylonian Jew, to the high-priesthood, prevailed on the king to depose Ananel, and to substitute Aristobulus, full brother to Mariamne, and like her in the beauty of his person, now seventeen years of age. He was so favourably received by the people, always charmed by a fine figure, and recollecting the glories of his Asamonean descent, that Herod's jealousy was excited, and he resolved on his destruction. Soon afterwards, near Jericho, in sultry weather, Herod and he entertained themselves by watching the persons of the suite, bathing and swimming in the bath of the palace; and Aristobulus, willing to join the amusement, was encouraged by Herod, who had given instructions to his confidants. They, as if in sport, plunged the young man's head under water so frequently and constantly, that he was drowned, and was thus, after Antigonus, the tyrant's first victim.

Alexandra sent news of this murder to Cleopatra, who was a declared enemy of Herod, for she wished to

add his territories to her own, and she procured summons from Antony, that the king should come and answer at Laodicea for the young man's death, for that "if it had been brought about by him, it was not well done." By money and address, however, this danger disappeared. After this another terror arose, and the king's affairs seemed desperate; for Antony, his friend and patron, lost the battle of Actium, and was ruined. His first thought was, who could be his rival; and the old man Hyrcanus, who had been high-priest before his mutilation, the patron of Antipater and friend of Herod, was the object of his fears. He had been carried by the Parthians across the Euphrates, and permitted to settle in Babylon, where were many thousand Jews, who revered him still as their high-priest, and paid him his ancient honours. But he was enticed back into Judea by Herod, and now, accused of correspondence with the Arabs, was put to death. The king then met Cæsar at Rhodes, and taking his diadem off his head, stated fairly how he was connected with Antony, and that he should have contributed to his army at Actium, but that a quarrel with the Arabs had detained his forces. He then offered the same faithfulness to Cæsar as he had shewn to Antony, and so pleased the new master of the world by his candour and submission, that he was confirmed upon his throne. He had already been able to shew his promptitude and subserviency, by forwarding the collection of gladiators for Augustus, and when the emperor visited Syria, his attentions were anxious and abounding. These com-

pliments were paid in the winter of the same year (B.C. 31) as the battle of Actium, and before the death of Antony, whom Cæsar was advancing to attack in Egypt. Herod's desertion of his former protector was quick enough in regard for his own interest, but may perhaps be excused by the hopeless self-abandonment of Antony.

We have now other tragedies to relate. On the occasion of the death of the young Aristobulus, when Herod was summoned to Laodicea by Antony, he felt that the hostility of Cleopatra rendered his return to his own country doubtful, and therefore left his uncle Joseph to administer his affairs, and to take charge of his family,—giving him private orders, that if things should go wrong with himself, Mariamne must die, for he loved her so dearly that he could not bear to think of leaving her to another. The management of the palace brought Joseph often into communication with the young queen, and he used to talk much of Herod's affection for her. She, and her mother Alexandra, received these asseverations with bantering and raillery, so that Joseph, who was quite serious, at last gave as a proof of her husband's love, the secret orders, that even death should not part them. This was a very unpleasant disclosure; and when Herod returned, Salome, his sister, insinuated unworthy suspicions of Mariamne, because of her frequent meetings with Joseph; this accusation was soon repelled by the assurances of the queen; but in the midst of the king's professions of confidence and love, she replied, that "those orders to

Joseph were not very affectionate." At these words the king threw her from him, tore his hair, called aloud that "he had detected Joseph; he would never have told the secret, if the intercourse had not been most confidential:" in his fury he was ready to slay his wife, did slay Joseph without admitting him to his presence, and put Alexandra in custody. Yet the attachment he bore towards Mariamne recovered its force, when his first burst of passion was over. When absent again, paying his court to Augustus, he shut up his mother and sister in one fortress, and his wife and her mother in another, placing the latter under the care of Sohemus, to whom he gave the same secret orders as before to Joseph. The ladies, who knew the circumstances of Herod, imagined for themselves the repetition of those commands, and therefore did everything in their power to cultivate the goodwill of Sohemus, and win him to a revelation of the secret. In this they succeeded. The stern resolve of her husband, to involve both in one destruction, turned any affection Mariamne might have for him, into detestation; she imagined all his professions to be hypocrisy, intended only to retain his hold upon the Asamonean family, to which she belonged, and from which she inherited an unconquerable spirit. On the king's return, who flew to tell her of his reception and favour with Cæsar, she heard the tale with vexation instead of pleasure, and did not attempt to conceal her aversion. Herod saw the change in his wife; he noticed that his embraces were repulsed; and was willing to have slain her immediately, but that

love forbade it. He was tossed by different feelings: ardent affection and indignant rage alternately possessed his mind; and every day made his estrangement from Mariamne greater. She only displayed her sentiments the more, and Salome, Herod's sister, aided by his mother, filled his thoughts with slanders and falsehoods. The young queen had exasperated these ladies by reminding them of their inferior birth, and by degrees, the bitterest enmity had grown up between them. She was always given to raillery, and used not even to spare her husband. These domestic differences continued for a year, and at last burst forth thus. During the heat of the noon-day, as usual among the Orientals, the king retired for repose, and affectionately desired the company of Mariamne. She came, but would not sit near him; and when he pressed her, made light of him, and reproached him with the death of her father and her brother. This ruffled him, and the variance between them being heard without, Salome sent in the cupbearer, suborned long before, and instructed to say that the queen wished to be provided with a philtre for the king: then, if Herod should be startled, to add further, that the drugs were hers, and that he was to administer it only; but, if the talk of the philtre did not affect him, to say no more. With this lesson the cupbearer hastily entered, and with an ingenuous look, said that Mariamne had given him presents, and desired him to administer a love potion. The king being staggered at this, he went on, "that the drink was made with drugs given by her, the power of which he did

not know; and, therefore, thought it best to communicate to the king that he had received them." Herod, now still more chafed, put to torture the eunuch who was most in the confidence of Mariamne. The slave said he knew nothing of the drugs; but that his mistress's hatred arose from the communication she had received from Sohemus. While he was yet uttering these words, the king cried aloud, "that Sohemus, his faithful servant formerly, would not have betrayed him then, if his communications with Mariamne had not gone still further:" so he issued orders forthwith to seize Sohemus, and put him to death. The queen was allowed a trial; Herod collecting his nearest friends, and warmly undertaking the conduct of the accusation. No justice, however, could be hoped, where the king, heated with passion, and uncontrolled in his furious denunciations, terrified the judges, and drove pity and truth at once from their minds; in subservience to his will, they condemned this pure and lovely woman to an undeserved death. With a steady mien, and unaltered complexion, she went to execution, displaying in that last extremity, the unsubdued loftiness of her spirit.

After Mariamne was dead, says Josephus, divine vengeance seemed to visit her destroyer; oftentimes he called aloud upon her name; oftentimes he gave way to immoderate lamentation, or applied himself to everything that could contribute to his amusement. But nothing was of any benefit. He refused attention to the affairs of his kingdom, and was so overcome by his

sorrows, that he ordered the servants to call Mariamne, as if alive and able to hear. While he was in this state, there was an epidemic which carried off many of every rank, and attacked the king himself, giving all men reason to suppose it a divine infliction for the late atrocity. Then he went into the wilderness a-hunting, and finally fell sick at Samaria, of brain fever and delirium. The fervour of his grief seems to have disappeared on his recovery.

Even while lying on his sick bed, the tyrant issued orders for the death of Alexandra, Mariamne's mother, who had tampered with the soldiery in anticipation of his death; and shortly afterwards, on the accusation of Salome, he slew Costobarus, Salome's husband, and several of his own friends, involved altogether in a charge of holding communication with Cleopatra.

It is a relief to turn from these executions to the works of his magnificence. Samaria he rebuilt handsomely, and gave it a new name, Sebaste, the Greek word for Augusta, in honour of the emperor; and from the same personage, a sea-port, refitted and amplified, was called Cæsarea: it is often mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles. But the undertaking which gained him most popularity, was the restoration of the Temple. When he proposed this to the people, their hearts sunk within them, lest, having destroyed, any accident should prevent him from completing it again. To meet this objection, he promised to touch nothing till all was ready for the new edifice. He provided a thousand wagons for the conveyance of stones, ten thousand

experienced workmen, and, for a thousand priest robes, and instruction in the arts of carpentry and masonry. The size of the Temple, thus enlarged and beautified, was a hundred cubits, its height a hundred and twenty, of which twenty were "lost by the settling of the foundations," a statement not easily understood; and as for the greatness of the stones that composed it, they were twenty-five cubits long, eight deep, and twelve broad.^b The remainder of the summit of the hill Moriah, increased by artificial substruction, was occupied by the porticoes or cloisters, of which Solomon's Porch was the most beautiful. The circuit of the whole was four furlongs, each way one. The second wall around the Temple was approached by a few steps; it was fenced with stone rails, on which was an inscription forbidding foreigners to enter on pain of death. Further than this, was the portion not to be trodden by the foot of women; and still further, the part accessible to the priests only. In this was the Temple, properly so called, and the altar of whole burnt-offering. It was for the purpose of erecting this holy place, that the king had procured instruction for the priests in the arts of building. He himself, not being a priest, entered not in thither, but occupied himself about the porches and the circuit walls, which engaged him eight years. The Holy Temple, allotted to the priests alone, was built up in a year and six months,

^b Maundrell (p. 138) measured three stones of the peribolus of the temple at Baalbec. Two were 60 feet long, the other 63. In breadth and depth they were all 12 feet. They were, in the wall, 20 feet from the ground.—Irby and Mangles, p. 216.

and its completion was celebrated by a great festival and exultation, with thanksgiving to God. It was currently said, in the time of Josephus, that during the period devoted to this restoration of the house of God, the rains fell at night only, and not in the day time, so that the work was uninterrupted. This tale, though we mix some doubt of its truth with our assent to its possibility, serves to show the strong sense of God's interposing providence which lived in the hearts of the Jewish people, and which connected that second Temple with a divine dispensation, although it was evident that since the time of Malachi, all the peculiar manifestations of the Almighty protection had been in suspense.

History is now again occupied with the unpleasing topics of unnatural hatred and bloodshed. The sons of the king and Mariamne, Alexander and Aristobulus, had been educated in Rome, and on their return were well received by their countrymen as the representatives of the glorious Maccabees. The distinction of their birth marked them out, above the other sons of Herod, as the proper successors to his throne; and those whisperers who had taken away their mother's life, looked forward to certain destruction on their accession to power. The same artifices so unhappily successful before, were employed now, and Herod was induced to make a show of favour to his eldest son, Antipater, in order to qualify the hopes of those young men, and check their supposed presumption. The consequence was, that, in a sense of injustice done them, they gave

utterance to some expressions of impatience, which were duly carried to their father, adorned and magnified. And so, by degrees, a misunderstanding, suddenly kept alive, grew into enmity; everything was supposed possible in two aspirants for a throne; and after one or two temporary reconciliations, the unjust suspicions of the father gave credit to a tale of plot against his life, and he became the murderer of his two sons.

His eldest son, Antipater, whose mother's name was Doris, was the next victim. The favour the king had already shown to him, was sufficient to designate him the heir of the kingdom, and as heir he was easily supposed to be impatient of his father's prolonged life, and willing to hasten his decease by criminal means. The same base insinuations which had divided the husband from his fondly-loved wife, and the father from his sons by her, were now employed in the ruin of Antipater. Pheroras, Herod's brother, died; and as the king was himself unnatural in his domestic relations, he soon gave ear to assertions that Pheroras had been poisoned by his wife. Then, the cruel rack forced confessions of anything—trivial words, empty conversations, supposed schemes, or crimes imagined to win a moment's relief from agony—and the wretched women, by their disclosures and ejaculations, at last wove a substantial accusation against Antipater of having attempted, with the privity of Pheroras, to take his father's life by poison. When this story, were it true or were it false, was once on foot, nothing would satisfy

the inquisitor but confirmations and additions to it. Such confirmations and additions were then of course extorted from the writhing witnesses. Herod, in the same manner as before, was convinced of the truth of the accusation, and, after a form of trial, ordered the execution of this son also.

It is clear that jealousy of a successor was the motive for the murder of these his children. Others—Antigonus, Hyrcanus, and a brother of Mariamne—had been sacrificed to the same fear of rivalry; and amidst the swelling tide of prosperity and despotism, few earthly considerations would hold up a warning or impose limitation on the tyrant. With him who broke so easily the strong ties of kindred, it would appear a small matter to order the slaughter of the infants round Bethlehem; and if a prophetic announcement terrified him with the prospect of a “king born into the world,” it would be abundant reason for the bloody precaution. This massacre, therefore, related by the Evangelist, completes the historical sketch of his character.

It was on his death-bed that he gave the word for the execution of Antipater. The disease which afflicted him is described as most distressing and painful. He drew his breath—among other symptoms—with great difficulty and anguish, aggravated by the frequency of his gasps, and accompanied by spasms of intolerable violence. His physicians tried the hot baths of Callirrhoe, beyond Jordan, and such other remedies as occurred to them, but in vain. His condition was heard abroad, not with pity, but joy; and conscious of this, he

became quite savage and full of bitterness against every one. Without hopes of life, he returned to Jericho, and out of his vexation and spite, resolved on the following almost incredible cruelty:—He sent round orders that a number of the Jews should wait on him, and among them many of the most distinguished persons; these men he shut up in the hippodrome, a race-ground, and sending for Salome, his sister, and her husband, Alexas, told them, that, afflicted as he was, it was impossible for him to last long, and that he foresaw he should be disappointed of the mourning that ought to follow the death of a king; that their task should be to alleviate this regret, and for that purpose they should issue orders to the soldiers, when they saw the hand of death upon him, to surround the hippodrome, and with missiles slay the people collected therein, and thus secure him a mourning at his funeral, even from those who were then most gay. Salome and Alexas undertook to perform these injunctions; but when the time arrived, allowed the victims to go free. As Herod's pain increased, he lost his appetite; but asking for an apple and knife, he looked round and attempted to stab himself. His cousin stopped his hand; and crying aloud, it was supposed in the palace that the king was dead. Immediately after this it was, that he raised himself on his elbow, and issued the death-warrant of his son. He then altered his will, and in five days he died, after a nominal reign of thirty-seven, and a real one of thirty-four, years (B.C. 4, March).

CHAPTER XV.

THE arrangements Herod had made in his will could have no effect until they had been ratified by Augustus. The final settlement was in favour of the three eldest sons, not all by one wife, for we are told that he had nine at one time, even after Mariamne's death. Archelaus had Judea, Idumea, and Samaria, with the title of Ethnarch; Philip had Batanæa, Trachonitis, Auranitis, and Ituræa, with the name of Tetrarch; and Antipas, Galilee and Peræa. The principal affair was the revenue: Archelaus had six hundred talents, = 120,000*l.* per annum; and the other two, two hundred talents, = 40,000*l.* each. A few towns, with a revenue of sixty talents, were allotted to Salome, Herod's sister. This distribution of the emperor's patronage was not carried into effect without remonstrances. Archelaus was obliged by his hopes of favour to go in person to Rome, soliciting the confirmation of his father's will: and would willingly have gone with the garland of popularity to adorn his suit. But the Jews, whose stout adhesion to their laws and traditions of the elders, made them turbulent under any Romanized government, grew presumptuous by his forbearance; and at the feast of the passover, when the great number of worshippers quickly constituted a formidable mob, drove Archelaus to the extremity of loosing his whole band of mercenaries upon them, and so, as on other

occasions, it happened "their blood was mingled with their sacrifices." This gave a handle of crimination to those who, previously averse to any son of the old and sanguinary tyrant just expired, had resolved to petition for a direct Roman administration. Their memorial to Augustus seems to be referred to in one of our Saviour's parables, delivered, indeed, many years afterwards; and the result, as therein implied, was altogether unfavourable to their wish. The absence of Archelaus at Rome was the signal for risings of the populace, under various leaders, and for some avaricious attempts on the late king's treasures by the Roman military officers in the neighbourhood. In one conflict a porch of the temple was burnt. It may not be unworthy of notice that the meanest of the chiefs who led the banditti of that time, assumed, as Josephus says, to wear the diadem: and perhaps no reason can be given, but that they expected, at that season, to arise in Judea a king who should be lord of all, and were willing to be pretenders to that high prerogative.

An impostor, pretending to be Alexander, Herod's murdered son, at this time deceived several persons by his resemblance to the real Alexander, so that he was sent to Rome by contributions from the Jews in Greece. But Augustus, who had seen Alexander when Herod referred their domestic variances to him, instantly detected the cheat by the robustness and roughness of his person.

In the tenth year of Archelaus' ethnarchy, he was accused by the principal Jews of severity in his admini-

administration, and was banished to Vienne in Gaul*. These ten years of government are despatched by our historian in a few lines, and he gives us no information as to the specific charge brought against Archelaus: we may therefore suppose the profound peace which pervaded the East to have afforded rest to Judea also.

Having now arrived at the cessation of the national dynasty, it will be a convenient era at which to review the religious condition of the people, which is the more interesting as it affords an insight into the state of the public mind at the time of the promulgation of Christianity.

The sect whose power and prominence claims our first attention is that of the Pharisees. Their chief aim was political power, and their means of acquiring it an ostentation of religion. This ostentation was necessarily based upon obedience to the law of Moses: and as the ceremonial part of this code was best adapted to the purposes of their ambition, it obtained from the Pharisees the greatest attention. They "made broad their phylacteries," writing texts of Scripture upon the "borders of their garments," and binding them as "frontlets between their eyes"—made long prayers to be seen of men—tithed the smallest herbs, "mint, anise, and cummin"—gave alms—kept the Sabbath with extreme strictness—rather than eat of food polluted by Gentile cookery would live entirely

* Strabo, xvi. 2.

on figs and chestnuts^b—rather than use oil that flowed from a foreign press would give ten times the usual price^c.

Finding that they could not build a sufficiently ostentatious religion upon the laws of God, even in a distorted shape, they added the traditions of the fathers, “a burden grievous to be borne:” in the spirit of the more recent Jews, who say that “the written word is only as water, but the Mishnah and Talmud as wine and hippocras^d.” And in the same manner they preferred the ritual to the moral obligations: if any article of food, as oil, honey, &c., had been even in thought dedicated to the uses of the temple, it was Corban, and not to be touched: no, not by a father or a mother suffering hunger.

The abstinence and temperance of their lives corresponded with their professions—they fasted oft—were the “straitest sect” of the Jews—like the Stoics^e among the Greeks, who ruled their passions with so sharp a curb that they seemed to have none. The end of their sanctity was the persuading others and themselves of their own meritoriousness; their not being “as other men,” but just men, “needing no repentance,” nor mercy from God. The gentler virtues, the essence of religion, “judgment, mercy, and truth,” were inconsistent with such self-righteousness and asceticism: “within,” the Pharisees were “full of hypocrisy and

^b Josephus, *Vita*, sec. 3, vol. ii., p. 2.

^c Josephus, vol. ii., p. 8. Conf. Tobit i. 3, 10, 11.

^d Prideaux, *Connexion*, vol. ii., p. 464.

^e Josephus, *Vita*, vol. ii., p. 2.

iniquity,"—extortion, uncharitableness, persecution, and murderous bigotry.

But the deformity of their character was concealed under so solemn and specious a mask that the people accepted them for guides, interpreters of the law, dictators of public opinion. They exercised an influence over the popular mind so predominant, that no government and no measure could be well received by the public, unless sanctioned by their ratification. In particular they possessed the respect of the women[†], whom they brought to allow even their pretensions to prophecy. None of the other sects could compete with them; if a Sadducee was thrown by circumstances into a prominent situation, he was obliged to acquiesce in the policy of the Pharisees. Power in such hands as theirs would be ill wielded: of that we have an eminent example (of which we shall say no more), and Josephus testifies their ability to thwart the government, and their proneness to insurrection and mischief. Thus they refused to take the oath of allegiance to Herod and the emperor, and the penalty, a fine, was paid for them by the wife of Pheroras.

The Pharisees taught, of course, the doctrines of the law of Moses, which do not require recapitulation. Their idea of the immortality of the soul was, that, at the advent of the Messiah in his glory, the dead who had been true to their law, would rise again in a new frame and enjoy with their prince the satisfaction of universal empire. "Behold, O my people," saith the

[†] Josephus, vol. i., p. 830.

Lord God by his prophet Ezekiel^κ, "I will open your graves, and cause you to come up out of your graves, and bring you into the land of Israel." Though the vehicle of the soul should then be another body^λ, their ideas had nothing in common with the Pythagorean metempsychosis^ι: nor is it credible, that with the Scriptures of the Old Testament in their hands, they should wander so far from the truth. The expectation of a time when every son of Abraham that had not forfeited his privileges should be served by the Gentiles and receive their homage, was a main feature of the national character. Hence the hopeful ardour with which they rebelled against the irresistible power of the Romans; hence the fury with which they heard the ministers of the Gospel speak of opening the door of salvation to the heathen; and hence the tenacity with which Judaizing Christians would make the Gentile converts become proselytes of Moses by circumcision, holding that without it they could not inherit the Jewish promises. With their eyes fixed upon the triumphal dominion of the Messiah, they lost sight of his humiliation, and had other solutions for those prophecies which we understand of his first coming in the "form of a servant." The Pharisees were reckoned at six thousand, but the bulk of the nation must be considered as following them.

^κ Chap. xxxvii. 12.

^λ ἕτερον σῶμα. Josephus, vol. ii., p. 166.

^ι This opinion, adverse to that of many learned writers, is excellently well maintained by Ludov. Ramm in an academical exercise *de Metempsychosi Phariseorum*; Francof. ad Viadrum, 1735.

The next sect was that of the Sadducees, whose symbols were negative. They denied the immortality of the soul,—held there is “neither angel nor spirit,”—refused authority to tradition,—and dismissed fate altogether, saying that a man works out his own happiness, and is the cause of his own sorrows. They rejected all the Scriptures but the Pentateuch; but by this no more can be meant, than that they required proof of any doctrine to be adduced from the writings of Moses: for to deny the authenticity of the prophecies, or the truth of the sacred annals, would deprive the nation of its history, and is too extravagant to be supposed: they could, at most, only refuse to consider them as an authoritative promulgation of the will of God, like the Pentateuch. It is also too hasty to compare them to the Epicureans, for they neither denied the providence of God, nor even his revelation; while the followers of Epicurus were, if not absolutely, yet relatively to mankind, atheists. The Sadducees, for the most part, were wealthy men.

A third religious division among the Jews was the Essenes, whose numbers in Palestine and Syria are estimated by Philo at four thousand, not, as it appears, including the Therapeutæ,—a sect that flourished in Egypt, and which, for the sake of greater certainty, we shall consider as differing from the former, though they were, perhaps, only more contemplative and less industrious. With the Essenes pleasure was a crime, abstinence and self-denial were virtue. Property was in common to the whole community, scattered throughout

various villages, which, for greater purity of society, they preferred to towns, and was managed by inspectors elected by all. One in each of their settlements was appointed to provide for the comfort of their friends from distant villages, if any such visited them. The aspect of the sectaries was that of children under correction: their garments were, in winter a rough skin, in summer a linen cloth; these belonged to the common stock, and were never changed till utterly rent and worn out by time and use. At sun-rise they prayed, allowing no ordinary expression to pass their lips till the sun was up: afterwards they were distributed by the inspectors to their several occupations, each man to what he knew best, and worked diligently till an hour before noon, when, meeting in one place, they bathed in cold water (for self-training and chastity), girded with linen aprons; and after this purification they took food in a place set apart for the purpose, the men ranged on the right, the women on the left. Hither none entered who held not with them; before and after their meal they offered prayer and thanksgiving. When satisfied, they laid aside their dinner dress, and turned again to labour till the evening, after which, as before, they met for refreshment; all being done without noise, without haste, so that to a stranger the silence was awful; and only enough to satisfy hunger and thirst was placed before them. They had no slavery, as against nature, and avoided occupations congenial to war and vice. They had a common place of worship, or synagogue, frequented on the Sabbath. Their cardinal rules

were three : to love God, to love virtue, to love man. They obeyed their inspectors in all particulars, but two things were permitted to their private discretion, charity and humanity : they might give to the needy, not being their kindred, and help those in distress. They were just and careful in anger, true to their pledge, and promoters of peace. Their simple affirmation was stronger than an oath, which they avoided. They loved books, especially those that benefit the mind or the body, and studied the medicinal qualities of herbs, and the properties of stones. In philosophy, the metaphysical "they left to word-hunters; the natural to star-gazers; the moral they applied to under guidance of the Law." Oil (much used among the ancients after bathing) with them was filth : if one was touched with it he wiped it off; for they esteemed negligence of the person a virtue, and they always wore white. One admitted into their society must confiscate his property to the general good, take a hoe, a linen apron and white robe, and be in probation for twelve months. Then he was advanced to further privileges, but yet not full, and remained two years longer; and before he was received into brotherhood he was made to swear solemn oaths to honour God, and be just to men, to hurt none of accord or by command, to hate the evil and assist the good, to keep faith with all, especially those in power, who rule, they said, not without God's will : in authority, not to abuse it, nor to shine above his fellows in dress or ornaments; to love truth always, and endeavour to convict liars; to keep his soul pure from

unjust gain, and his hands from theft; to hide nothing from the brethren, nor to inform in ought against them, even in the extremity of death. And besides, he was to communicate no tenet otherwise than as he received it; to abstain from robbery, and to keep the books of the society and "the names of the angels". For sufficient reasons a culprit was expelled from the sect; and, unable by his principles and oaths to partake of nourishment with other men, would perish of hunger, if not received back. Judgment with them was surrounded with certainty and justice, and not less than a hundred in number pronounced a sentence. After God's name, that of the Lawgiver was most honoured, and death was the award to him who blasphemed it. They thought it good to be submissive to the elders and to the majority; ten being present, one would not speak if the nine were unwilling. They kept the Sabbath so strictly, that they would not cook, light a fire, nor move a vessel from its place on that day. "They lived to a great age, mostly above a hundred." This opinion was established among them, that our bodies are corruptible, and that their matter has no permanence; but that our souls remain immortal, and are connected with our bodies by a mysterious attraction, belonging properly to the finest etherial vapour, and, as it were, imprisoned in the flesh; that when liberated from these bonds, they are borne aloft, and are

* See Philo, vol. i., p. 264; 1 Tim. v. 21; Coloss. ii. 18, &c. Brucker, *Hist. Crit. Philos.*, vol. ii., p. 891, seq., and p. 1032, seq., treats the Jewish doctrine of angels from the Talmud and Cabbala.

happiness; and that the good live in a place beyond the ocean, "in which they agreed with the Greeks," in a place troubled not by rains, snows, or sultry heats, but ever cooled by gentle zephyrs: on the other hand, the wicked souls are hurried away to a dark and wintry region of perpetual punishment. They had, we are further informed, prophets among them, who, educated by study and purification, scarcely ever erred in their predictions. On the subject of marriage they were divided, one part rejecting that institution, not as unlawful, but inexpedient, and imputing depravity to the whole female sex; the other part accepting it, and making candidates for matrimony undergo a three years' probation. Philo says, "They rejected marriage because a wife is self willed, jealous, influential in shaking her husband's principles, and enticing him by constant flatteries; and further, by partiality for her children, unfit for a society where interests are common¹." Josephus mentions an Essene in the time of Archelaus, and another as early as Aristobulus, the son of Hyrcanus, more than a hundred years before the Christian era². Pliny also attributes great antiquity to this sect (*per seculorum millia*), and places them west of the Dead Sea, in what was called the Wilderness of Judea³.

Of the Therapeutæ, (perhaps, in the ambiguous expression of Philo, called contemplative Essenes,) little need be said. They were Jews infected with the

¹ Josephus; Philo, vol. ii., p. 457, seq., 632, seq., ed. Mangey.

² Josephus, vol. i., p. 866, 665. ³ Pliny, Nat. Hist., v. 17.

philosophic spirit of Alexandria, near which they had their camps or settlements. They lived on bread seasoned with salt, or, for luxury, with hyssop. Most of their women were old and unmarried (*γηραιαὶ ἄγαμέραι*). In each house was a cell or oratory, for sacred observances. In their place of common worship, men and women were divided by a partition. They indulged in allegorical interpretation of the law (making it moral philosophy in disguise), cultivated the singing of hymns, and chaunted the burthen in chorus^o.

There is no evidence to show that the Herodians were a sect of religion; very little is known of them: it appears that they kept the birth-day of Herod as a festival, and this was doubtless Herod the Great.

The scattered positions of Jewish communities at this period also attract our attention, for in the preaching of Christianity we find town after town visited by the Missionaries of the Redeemer, and synagogues in all those of importance. This dispersion swayed in some degree the choice of scenes for the apostolic labours, and the bigoted animosity of the nation against the doctrines of Atonement for all men, was frequently displayed even in those distant places.

The return from the Captivity had been accomplished in circumstances of discouragement, and was at first undertaken by only forty-two thousand^r. Others afterwards joined the first settlers, and of these, Nehemiah

^o Philo, vol. ii., p. 471, ed. Mangey.

^r Scholiastes *Persii*, V. 180.

^a "To the Jew first." Rom. ii. 10. ^r Ezra ii. 64.

and Ezra were the most important and useful; but still, large numbers remained behind. BABYLON, therefore, or rather Babylonia, was one of these settlements. Josephus* tells us it was inhabited by "not a few tens of thousands" of Jews, and again, "by a multitude of Jews." He says also, that Alexander the Great, being found favourable to the people of Jerusalem, was entreated by them in behalf of "the Jews in Babylon and Media:" and Philo speaks of Babylon and many other satrapies as occupied (*κατεχομένας*) by Jews. When the Parthians (B.C. 40) carried off Hyrcanus, they allowed him to reside among these his countrymen, and he was treated by them as king and high-priest. It is mentioned that the priests they had among them kept their genealogies pure, by not intermarrying with foreigners". Ananel, the high-priest whom Herod first appointed, was from Babylonia. The First Epistle of St. Peter seems dated from hence: "The church that is at Babylon, elect together with you, saluteth you," though Babylon in Egypt, which swarmed with Jews, and where they have now a cemetery^z, may be meant. Among those assembled at Jerusalem on the day of Pentecost⁷, we find "Parthians, Medes, Elamites, and dwellers in Mesopotamia."

ALEXANDRIA was inhabited by a great number of

* Josephus, vol. i., p. 744.

¹ Id., vol. i., p. 741.

^u Id., vol. i., p. 582.

^v *Legatio ad Caium*, sec. 31.

^w Josephus, vol. ii., p. 441.

^z Niebuhr, *Voyage en Arabie*, tom. i., p. 86; *Reisebesch.*, vol. i., p. 106.

⁷ Acts ii.

Jews. Apollon was a Jew of Alexandria^a. They were probably, although credit be denied to the story about the Seventy, the translators of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek. Alexander, when in Egypt, himself laid out the city^a, and, according to Josephus, placed certain Jews there, giving them, for their loyalty, "equal privileges" with the Macedonians. Ptolemy Soter, certainly, if not Alexander himself, removed considerable numbers of the Jews to the new city, with the purpose of increasing its size and importance. A particular quarter or region of the city was allotted to them, that they might, in obedience to their customs, preserve themselves free from the pollutions of foreign intercourse, and this quarter is called large by Strabo. "They had an ethnarch of their own, who was their judge, and had the control of their police, the levy of contributions for the Egyptian government, and the arrangement of the details in the execution of its orders^b." This ethnarch was properly called the Alabarch, or fiscal governor. The third book of Maccabees gives us an account of a persecution of the Alexandrine Jews by Ptolemy Philopator, in which they were saved by the miraculous appearance of "two angels of fierce aspect." In the reign of Antiochus Eupator, Onias, by birthright expecting the high-priesthood, when he saw that the king or his advisers had appointed Jachim, or Alkimus, a

^a Acts xviii. 24.

^a Arrian, *Exp. Alex.*, iii. 1, 2.

^b Vol. i., p. 584; vol. ii., p. 199. Strabo in a fragment, *Ap. Joseph.*, vol. i., p. 695.

^c Ruperti, *Excurs. ad Juvenal.*, i. 130. Ernesti, *Clavis Cc. Index Historic.* From *alaba*, ink.

person disqualified by inferior extraction for the sacred office, fled from Judea and took refuge in Egypt with Ptolemy Philometor, who granted him a ruined temple of Bubastis, in the Heliopolite Nome, ten miles from Memphis, or from the modern Cairo. This he sanctified, restored, and furnished with sacred utensils: he had, however, only a lamp hanging by a golden chain, instead of the seven-branched golden candlestick, and this temple was not on the true model, but in form more like a tower; everything also was on a smaller and lower scale. The altar was similar to that at Jerusalem, and was considered to be a fulfilment of a prophecy of Isaiah xix. 18. "In that day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of Hosts: one shall be called the city of destruction;" [of the sun, Marginal Reading.] "In that day shall there be an altar to the Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar at the border thereof to the Lord." The zeal of the Jews, furious at any insult or unintentional infringement of their customs, led them into constant collision with the other inhabitants of the city: and as their living in one quarter enabled them to summon their friends to every street quarrel, the riots were sometimes very serious. In the time of Vespasian the Alexandrine Jews seized more than six hundred persons, who would, they thought, be obnoxious to the Romans, and, as appears, put them to death with torture. The consequence was, that Vespasian sent orders for the destruction of the Heliopolite temple, thinking that measure would diminish their turbulence; and his

commands were executed by Lupus and Paullinus, the successive Roman governors^d. Chelkias and Anania, prime ministers of Cleopatra, mother of Ptolemy Lathyrus, were sons of Onias, who built the temple of Heliopolis^e; and Philo, the allegorical interpreter of the law in the time of Caligula, was of Alexandria.

In ANTIOCH, the capital town of Syria, a great proportion of the population was Jewish. This city had been founded by Seleucus, the first of the dynasty of the Seleucidæ, its situation having probably been chosen as the most central to his provinces, extending over Upper and Minor Asia, which could be obtained upon the Mediterranean Sea, from which a Macedonian would not willingly remove too far. Josephus says, he brought Jews thither when the city was first built: this must have been from the east side of the Euphrates, as he ceded Judea to Ptolemy Soter. To illustrate the naked fact, that it contained a colony of that people, we follow the words of their historian in another place: "The Jewish race is largely mingled with the natives throughout the whole world; especially in Syria, from its nearness, and most of all in Antioch, from its size, and their being allowed to live there unmolested." Antioch was nearly as extensive, says Strabo, as Seleucia on the Tigris, or Alexandria in Egypt. Antiochus Epiphanes desolated Judea, and brought away the spoils of the temple; from which his successors selected such as were of brass, and presented them to the Antiochen:

^d Josephus, vol. i., p. 638; ii., p. 435.

^e Id., vol. i., p. 669.

^f Id., vol. ii., p. 407.

Jews, to be deposited in their synagogue. The subsequent monarchs imitated this liberality by still more handsome offerings. The Jews were under no legal disqualification or inferiority, and were able to win over many Greeks to their manner of worship. In the reign of Nero, just before Vespasian's appointment to conduct the war in Judea, Antiochus, son of the Archon of the Antiochene Jews, came into the theatre where the citizens were holding a public assembly, and denounced his father and others as engaged with some Jewish strangers in a design to set fire to the city by night. Those implicated in the charge, who were within reach, were immediately burnt to death in the theatre, and instant vengeance was resolved on against the rest. Antiochus, adopting the Greek idolatry to screen himself from suspicion of any participation with his countrymen, suggested that the conspirators might be detected by the application of the same test. "Few of the sons of Jacob renounced the purity of their faith, and those who refused to worship the work of men's hands were put to death." Antiochus then annoyed the remainder, by troubling them in the observance of the Sabbath. Soon after it happened that the square of the market-place, the magistrates' hall, the record office, and the palace, were burnt down, and Antiochus came forward to brand the Jews as the incendiaries. But on this occasion the affair was reserved for the investigation of the Roman authorities, and the Jews escaped. It can hardly be necessary to remind any one how frequently Antioch appears in the history of the

Apostles of our Saviour; and that there the disciples were first called Christians.

"In the state of CYRENE," says Strabo, "were four divisions,—one of the men of the city; the second of the husbandmen, or countryfolks; the third of the metics, or foreign residents; and the fourth Jews." He adds, "They have found their way into every city, and there is scarcely a town in the world which has not received this people into it, nor where they do not prevail." Josephus gives an account of some Roman oppressions, A.D. 74, in which three thousand of the richest of them in this city perished; the accusations alleged even reached himself at Rome. In consonance with these facts, there came at the day of Pentecost, Jews, "from the parts of Libya about Cyrene." The author of the original work from which the second book of Maccabees is abridged, was from hence. Simon, who was found and made to bear the cross, was a Cyrenian. Their colony at Cyrene was derived from Egypt, to which that territory belonged; and for a like reason it is that we trace them frequently in CYPRUS.

At ROME and Putcoli were many of this nation¹. Cicero¹, in the year B.C. 59, alludes to a great multitude of Jews in Rome (*scis, quanta sit manus*), from whom some support of the accusation against Flaccus, in the way of clamour and threats, was expected; yet this was only the fourth year after Judea was visited by Pompey. In suppressing the abominable debaucheries

¹ Fragm. ap. Joseph., vol. i., p. 694.

² Josephus, vol. ii., p. 158.

³ *Pro Flacco*, 28.

of the mysteries and orgies of foreign deities, Julius Cæsar reserved leave to the Jews to hold their religious meetings as before^k. They are frequently alluded to by Horace in the first book of his *Satires*, completed about B.C. 38^l. In Augustus' time, "a great multitude" was mustered on an occasion interesting to the nation^m, and more than 8000 joined in the memorial against Archelausⁿ. In the reign of Tiberius, 4000 were sent in the ranks of the army to Sardinia, then considered unhealthy, and those who refused to serve were executed; the rest were banished from the city^o. They formed, in the reign of Caligula, a large proportion of the population on the north bank of the Tiber, and consisted principally of freedmen. Thus also the 4000 drafted into the army by Tiberius had been freedmen^p, and the synagogue of the Libertines^q may hence be supposed that of the Jews from the metropolis^r. Claudius commanded them all to leave Rome^s, which Dio^t says could not be done without a riot, they were so numerous. St. Paul found a community of them there in Nero's time^u, to say nothing of later periods.

Josephus has preserved a letter or ordinance of Antiochus the Great, addressed to one of his officers, and enjoining him to remove two thousand Jews out of

^k Josephus, vol. i., p. 705.

^l Hor., *Sat.*, I. iv. 143; v. 100; ix. 70.

^m Josephus, vol. i., p. 864; ii. 158. ⁿ Id., vol. i., p. 860.

^o Id., vol. i., p. 879. Tacitus, *Annal.*, II. 85.

^p Tacit., *Annal.*, II. 85. ^q Acts vi. 9.

^r Philo, *Leg. ad Cai.*, s. 23.

^s Acts xviii. 2. Suet., *Claud.*, 25.

^t Dio, lx. 6, οὐκ ἐξήλασε μέν. ^u Acts xxviii. 17, 21.

Mesopotamia and Babylonia into Lydia and Phrygia, in order to preserve those his provinces more strictly in their allegiance. They were to be removed with their chattels, and to be presented with a plat of ground to cultivate and build upon; to enjoy their own laws, and an exemption from taxes for the first ten years of the infancy of their colony; and to be provided with corn and necessaries until they obtained the first crop off the newly-apportioned soil. From these settlers proceeded the numerous communities which we find in the cities and islands of ASIA MINOR. The historian has collected several decrees relative to his countrymen, and among them we often find asserted by the Jews, and established by the municipal or Roman authorities, claims which prove the existence of numerous Israelitish societies in the following towns:—Ephesus, Miletus, Laodicea, Hali-carnassus, and especially Sardis; in Delos, Paros, Cos, Melos, and Crete. The Sardians decree them the assignment of an approved site for a place of national worship, and order the municipal ædiles to see that they be provided with such provisions as they customarily used; an order which probably implied the grant of a separate walk and booths for Jewish dealers. We learn from Cicero's oration in defence of Flaccus, that the Jews at Apamea, in Phrygia, had collected something less than a hundred pounds weight of gold for the temple; at Laodicea more than twenty; at Adramyttium and Pergamus something. These payments were intercepted by Flaccus. A hundred pounds weight of gold, at half a shekel each, would give a

population of 60,000. St. Paul was a native of Tarsus. From the Acts of the Apostles, we learn incidentally that synagogues were found in the following cities: in Asia Minor, Ephesus (xviii. 19), Iconium (xiv. 1), Antioch in Pisidia (xiii. 14); in Cyprus, Salamis (xiii. 5).

In GREECE the same authority presents us with synagogues in Thessalonica (xvii. 1), Berea (xvii. 10), Athens (xvii. 17), Corinth (xviii. 4, seq.) There were many Jews, says Philo, in Thessaly, Bœotia, Macedonia, Ætolia, Attica, Argos, Corinth, the Peloponnese, Eubœa, and Crete; besides the countries before noticed, and the towns of Syria itself, which we have overlooked, because their proximity sufficiently accounts for the intermixture of this people.

† *Legat. ad Cai.*, s. 36.

CHAPTER XVI.

CYRENIUS, or Quirinus, a senator, and lately consul, was sent on the deposition of Archelaus to Judea, to sell the private property of the late ruler, and to assess the inhabitants of Judea, so as to bring into operation the Roman method of taxation^a. COPONIUS, of the order of knights, was to be administrator of the district which became a portion of the province of Syria, and subordinate to its proconsul. The transfer of the revenue to a foreign power, involved the question never satisfactorily set at rest in the minds of the people, "Whether it was lawful to pay tribute to Cæsar or not?" and though the prudent advice of the high-priest influenced the most part to submit, yet discontent at the change showed itself constantly in hostility against the "publicans," or collectors of the Roman dues, and is stated by Josephus, in this place, to have been the ultimate cause of the last war, and ruin of the nation. The immediate consequence was a commotion raised by Judas the Gaulonite^b, who is regarded by Josephus as founder of a sect holding the same doctrines as the Pharisees; and, besides, the resolution to admit no man for their political master. We have the following sketch of his insurrection from the mouth of

^a The commentators on Luke ii. 2, refer much to this census, but in the way of distinction. Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, i. 5. Gresswell, *Dissertation*, xiv.

^b Of Gamala, Josephus, i. 869; or of Galilee, i. 965; ii. 160.

Gamaliel: there "rose up Judas of Galilee, in the days of the taxing, and drew away much people after him; he also perished, and all, even as many as obeyed him, were dispersed." It seems not unlikely, that those Galileans, "whose blood Pilate" (afterwards) "mingled with their sacrifices," were of his faction. Nevertheless, the tribute now so fiercely objected to, had been borne silently after the conquest of Pompey^d. The only event recorded of the government of Coponius, is an insult offered by the Samaritans. The doors of the temple at the Passover were opened at midnight, and, taking advantage of the darkness, they crept in and scattered human bones about the porches, a pollution which prevented the worshippers from entering. Coponius was succeeded by MARCUS AMBIVIVUS, and he by ANNIUS RUFUS, in whose time Augustus died, A.D. 14. This was only eight years after the first appointment of a Roman governor. Names, therefore, come upon us faster than facts. Annius Rufus was followed by VALERIUS GRATUS: his time extended to eleven years. In this space he deposed and appointed successively to the high-priesthood, Ananus, Ishmael, Eleazar, Simon, and Joseph, also called Caiaphas; so that possibly many of the Jews "wist not who was the high-priest," when changes were so frequent. These twenty years since Archelaus were evidently spent in tranquillity.

The next governor was PONTIUS PILATE. The first

^c Acts v. 37.

^d Joseph. vol. i. p. 690. Cic., *Orat. pro Flacco*, s. 28, "elocata."

we learn of him is, that in removing troops from his own residence in Cæsarea, to occupy winter quarters in Jerusalem, he, perhaps unconsciously, offended the scruples of the Jews about idolatry. The soldiers brought with them standards, on which were the effigies of Tiberius; and as they entered the town by night, it was not till next morning that the citizens became aware that the Holy City was desecrated by the presence of images. Philo says, shields with inscriptions only, "and no device," were placed in the procurator's palace*, which is unaccountable; the standards were indeed not the legionary eagles, but the insignia of the lesser divisions, the cohorts and manipuli; they bore discs which carried the emperor's profile, as in coins. A large deputation was immediately sent to Cæsarea, to request the withdrawal of the offence; but Pilate, afraid of anything which derogated from the dignity of Cæsar, refused to allow it. The deputation remained there six days, and suddenly surrounded by the Roman soldiers, declared themselves ready to meet death, rather than be denied their suit. Pilate must have felt that the peace of the country would be endangered by his persisting, and recalled the obnoxious standards. He was afterwards assailed by a riotous assemblage of several thousands, because he had brought a supply of water to Jerusalem, from a distance of twenty miles, at the expense of the sacred treasury. He had cautiously ordered the attendance of soldiers with stout

* *Legat. ad Caium*, s. 38, 39.

batons, which, when it became necessary, they applied unsparingly to the insubordinate mob, and drove them off with wounds and loss of lives.

Samaria having been part of Archelaus' dominion, was also part of Pilate's government, and accordingly he interfered, with perhaps excessive promptitude, to put a stop to some gathering in that district, arising from a fellow who persuaded the vulgar that he could show them the sacred things (*τὰ ἱερὰ σκεύη*) buried, he said, by Moses on Mount Gerizim^f. This attack was complained of, as causeless, to Vitellius, pro-consul of Syria, Pilate's superior, who ordered this officer to Rome, there to account to the emperor for his conduct. He had administered the government of Judea ten years, from A.D. 26 to 36: before he reached the metropolis Tiberius died, (March 26, A.D. 37.) In his stead, Vitellius appointed MARCELLUS, till a successor should arrive. Of the character of Pilate, we have means of judging from the Gospel. By Philo, in a somewhat rhetorical passage, he is charged with receiving bribes, with tyranny, rapacity, insults, inhuman punishments, successive murders without form of law, and with purposeless and barbarous cruelty^g. Eusebius tells us that his death was by his own hand, though under the coercion of the emperor^h.

Caligula appointed MARYLLUS to the procuratorship (*ἱππάρχην*) of Judea; and after him CAPITO, whose

^f Deut. xxvii. 11. Josh. viii. 33.

^g Philo, *Legat. ad Caium*, s. 38.

^h Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, II. 7, ἐξ ἀνάγκης.

name and conduct are derived to us from Philo, in Josephus, pre-occupied with Rome and Agrippa, has not mentioned him. He came to Judea very poor; and by robbery and extortion, accumulated considerable wealth. His criminality was so flagrant, that to avoid certain condemnation, as we are told, he resolved, with astute baseness, to pre-condemn the Jews in the emperor's mind. For this purpose he availed himself of their aversion to idolatry, and a particular manifestation of it in Jamnia, where they pulled down a rude altar to Caligula, erected out of mischief or frolic by some of the heathens of the place. Capito wrote an exaggerated account of the affair to the emperor, whose indignation, as expected, was roused by the recital. The report, which, to do the procurator justice, it would have been dangerous not to transmit, and which, perhaps, was not exaggerated more than the sovereign's taste required, arrived at a time when similar complaints had been made against the Jews of Alexandria. These were maintained by a deputation, headed by Apion, and answered and palliated by our author, Philo. The daring of the Jews in refusing to acknowledge his divinity, admitted by all the world besides, incensed Caligula in a high degree, and he sent out orders to Petronius, who had succeeded Vitellius in Syria, to withdraw one-half of his troops from the frontier of the Euphrates, and, under cover of their eagles, to erect a colossal

¹ *Legat. ad Caium*, s. 30, *φορῶν ἐκλογεὺς*, and evidently administrator of the government. I do not know why Mr. Gresswell has omitted to mention this functionary.

statue of him in the temple at Jerusalem. Petronius accordingly prepared his legions, and lay at Ptolemais, whence he sent to Rome to report progress: the answer repeated the original orders. The Jews, while Petronius at Ptolemais waited for the spring, approached as suppliants that this grievance might be spared them: in return, he pleaded his positive orders, and they declared themselves more willing to die than to witness that blasphemy and insult. Petronius then set out for Tiberias, on the Lake of Gennesaret, and found the minds of all in that quarter equally resolved. Would they brave the Roman power? said he. Not so, was the reply; but they preferred death to such a degradation: and they bared their necks, as if for the fatal blow. Urged by the feelings of humanity, the proconsul took upon himself the heavy responsibility of writing to Caligula, with arguments to alter his purpose: and instantly, we are told, after he announced his kind intention, a long drought was seasonably terminated by an abundant rain. The tyrant's answer was all fury and threatening; but it arrived after the news of his death, and so was harmless. According to Josephus, Agrippa had at the dinner-table obtained the cancelling of the impious order, before Petronius's despatch arrived: and Philo agrees with him in the main fact; but gives us a memorial from Agrippa, which his imperial patron would never have had patience to read^k.

^k Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, s. 42.

Our attention is now called to the family of Herod. Of the successors of Herod the Great, Philip was happy enough, living in quiet, to retain his principality thirty-seven years; he died in the 20th year of Tiberius, A.D. 33. Herod, the tetrarch, entered into current affairs more: he entertained Vitellius and the king of Parthia, Artabanus, upon the river Euphrates; and incensed Vitellius by sending the earliest intelligence of the result of the conference to Tiberius. We have an interesting passage concerning him, which no one doubts to be genuine, and in which we shall adhere to the original.

Herod, on a visit to Rome, stayed with Herod-Philip, his half-brother, and conceived a vile affection for Herodias, his wife, who was also of the Herodian family. He ventured to propose marriage to her, and she consented, arranging to elope to him when he had left Rome. One condition was that he should dismiss his lawful wife, the daughter of Aretas, king of Arabia. His wife heard of this proposed ejection from her home, and immediately took refuge with her father Aretas. He, angry at the injustice and insult, sent troops to attack Herod, and in the engagement Herod's men were totally routed. "To some of the Jews it seemed that Herod's army perished by (the providence of) God, punishing him very justly for the death of John, surnamed the Baptist. For Herod slew him, a good man, and exhorting the Jews to practise virtue, justice to one another, and piety to God, and so to come together to baptism: for thus it appeared to him, baptism should

culcated, applying it not to the pardon of any sins, to the purity of the body, as (to signify) that they had before been purified by righteousness. And lest crowding to him, for they were charmed with hearing of his words, Herod feared lest his persuasiveness might lead to some revolt, for they seemed ready to do all by his advice, and thought it much rather, before anything happened, to arrest and slay him, than to regret (not having done so) when affairs changed, and danger should surround him. So he sent, on Herod's suspicion, bound to the fortress Mæurus, and was there slain. To the Jews then, it seemed that the destruction of the army happened in vengeance for him, and that God willed evil towards him." This account wants all the clearness of the Gospel, that "Herod had laid hold on John, and bound him, and put him in prison for Herodias' sake, his brother Philip's wife. For John said unto him, It is not lawful for thee to have her;" but it shows that John bore his testimony against this disgraceful transaction, even as it occurred.

The accession of Caligula made some alteration in the Jewish state. Agrippa, son of Aristobulus, and therefore grandson of Herod the Great and Mariamne, had been honoured attendant of the new emperor during the time of Tiberius, and had been imprisoned for six months on charge of wishing Tiberius would make room for a more worthy sovereign. When he became emperor, Caligula gave him the tetrarchy of Philip, who had died four years previously, and added that of Lycaonia

who was "tetrarch of Abilene¹;" he allowed him also the patronage of the temple, and choice of the high-priest. Herodias, who seems to have been allured by ambition to desert her rightful husband, became uneasy at the good fortune of Agrippa, and importuned Herod (Antipas) to go to Rome, and seek a like prosperity. Herod was unwilling; but yielded at last to the solicitations of this woman, and with great preparation arrived at Rome. But an emissary of Agrippa arrived with him, and brought letters to Caligula, accusing him of having been allied with Sejanus, the fallen minister of Tiberius, a name to the last degree hated; and of correspondence with Artabanus, king of Parthia, who threatened the empire on the frontier of the Euphrates and Armenia. As a proof, it was added that Herod had laid up arms for seventy thousand men. Caligula asked Herod if this about the arms were true; and took the confession as a conviction on the whole accusation. Hereupon he banished the miscalculating tetrarch to Lyons, (*Lugdunum*,) not many miles from the place of exile assigned to Archelaus, and gave his province to his accuser: for Herodias, he said, her brother Agrippa was a protection; and he allowed her to retain her own property. But Herodias, thanking him for his munificence, begged to be permitted to accompany her husband; at which Caligula chafed, ordered her to share both his home and his poverty, giving the property he had spoken of to Agrippa.

The reign of Caius Caligula was short. He was the

¹ Luke iii. 1.

son of the deservedly favourite Germanicus, and the foster-child of the army; but his infamous and empty follies were wholly discordant from the hob-nailed soldier's shoes which procured him his surname, and he was assassinated by Cassius Chaerea, a rough campaigner of his father's, who had hewn his way to safety through the mutineers of the German legions at the accession of Tiberius. The senate, after the experience they had had of military despotism, were desirous of restoring the old form of government by consuls, but the prætorian guards, afraid of losing their gratuities and quadruple pay, were resolved on having some one, no matter whom, to be their emperor. For this service they, by accident, chose Claudius, an old man, of mild and easy temper, whose dulness made an agreeable contrast with the phrenzied madness of his predecessor. But as two views were entertained of the course to be pursued in Rome, two or three days were occupied in fixing Claudius on the throne; and Agrippa the tetrarch, patronized by Caius, happening to be in the city, was able to serve the interests of the new emperor, by communicating with the senate in such a way as to prepare them for submission. The case, indeed, soon became so plain, that no one, who cared to keep his head, could doubt where victory lay; and therefore Agrippa cannot have rendered any essential advantage, unprovided with armed abettors as he was, to the cause of the new sovereign. It appears, however, that his exertions pleased his master, for he was gratified with

^a Dio, ix. 8.

a confirmation of previous grants, and the addition to his dominions of Judea and Samaria, and of Libanus and Abilene, if they did not belong to him by the gift of Caligula. His dominion must have been by this time tolerably extensive, embracing the tetrarchies of Lysanias, Philip, Herod Antipas, Judea, and Samaria. He had also influence enough to obtain for his brother Herod the kingdom of Chalcis in Syria, and espoused to him his daughter Bernice. This **AGRIPPA THE GREAT** is described as attached to the law of his country, namely, by external respect, and thus opposite to his grandfather, Herod the Great, who shewed much fondness for Grecian manners. Caligula had given him a chain of gold, of weight equal to that of iron, which he had worn by Tiberius' orders, for anticipating in his wishes the change of masters which nature and providence brought about a few months afterwards. This he dedicated in the temple. He ordered also several Nazarites to be shaved, at the expiration of the term of their vow^a, having enabled them to provide their offering by defraying the expense, and complained to Petronius of the people of Dura, who had placed a statue of Claudius in the Jewish synagogue. They were on the sea-coast, but not within the limits of his power, belonging to the proconsul of Syria, who instantly attended to Agrippa's application, and had the offensive image removed. This sort of religion is the same with that which induced him to court the favour of the intolerant and furious

^a Numb. vi. 18.

Pharisees, by acts which are hardly designated sufficiently as murders. It was he, "Herod the king," that "stretched forth his hands to vex certain of the church, and he killed James the brother of John with the sword; and because he saw that it pleased the Jews, he proceeded further to take Peter also^o." It is said that the accuser of St. James, witnessing his martyrdom, embraced Christianity^p. Petronius was succeeded in the province of Syria by Marsus, who, finding Agrippa building strong walls round Jerusalem, stopped this undertaking by a communication to the emperor, that it might be the first germ of a rebellion. The authority which the Syrian proconsul exercised over these petty kings is marked by an anecdote that survives. Agrippa invited to visit him at Tiberias, on the Lake of Gennesaret, the kings of Commagene, Emesa, the Lesser Armenia, Pontus, and Chalcis, of whom the last was his own brother. While the festivities lasted, Marsus also arrived, and the whole party proceeded to receive him a mile from the city with due honour. The kings, however, like excellent friends, rode all in one wagon, and Marsus, thinking such intimacy boded no good, ordered them all home instantly to their several districts. The third year after he had assumed the command over Judea, and the seventh after his promotion to power, he "sat upon his throne, arrayed in royal apparel, and made an oration" unto them of Tyre and Sidon: "and the people gave a shout, saying, It is the voice of a god, and not of a man.

^o Acts xii. 1.

^p Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, ii. 9.

And immediately the angel of the Lord smote him, because he gave not God the glory : and he was eaten of worms, and gave up the ghost &c." Josephus tells the same particulars of the royal apparel, the assembled multitude, the cry, "It is a god," the instant stroke of fatal disease, and his death five days afterwards; but he alters the purport of the assemblage to festive games, and the interposition of the Almighty to an appearance of a bird of ill omen, connected with a silly tale of prophecy. This latter defection from the truth is similar to those other instances in which he deserts the national doctrine of an exclusive revelation to the descendants of Abraham, and allows credit to heathen superstitions and philosophic speculations. Whatever may have been Agrippa's merits with the Pharisees and high-priests, he seems to have been sufficiently unpopular in Cæsarea and Sebaste (Samaria), two of the most considerable towns in his dominions, from which a body of troops was levied, that was generally quartered at Cæsarea as a body guard for the king or governor. These troops and the populace insulted the memory of the dead, feasted in the public halls, offered libations to Charon, the Stygian ferryman, toasted the death of their late master, and placed the statues of his two little daughters in a shameless situation, as emblems of impurity and lewdness.

The young Agrippa was passing through his education at Rome, and Claudius was at first inclined to place him in the situation his father had held, as king

of Palestine; but on maturer consideration, assisted, as usual, by the suggestions of his freedmen, he entrusted the government to more experienced hands; and to avoid ceding it into the charge of Marsus, Agrippa's enemy, sent CUSPIUS FADUS as the procurator, with orders, subsequently recalled, to march the disorderly troops into Pontus. Marsus also was superseded in the preconsulate of Syria by Cassius Longinus. Fadus acted with promptitude. A local quarrel had produced an appeal to arms on either side, and the procurator, indignant at this neglect of his arbitration and contempt of his authority, punished one of the promoters of that irregularity with death, and two with exile. He put a stop also to the frequent robberies, and ordered the Jews to replace in the hands of the Romans the sacred vestments of which they had had the custody before the time of Agrippa. An application to Claudius, however, prevailed, and they were allowed to keep the high-priest's robes in their own care. The patronage of the offices in the temple, comprehending the nomination of the high-priest, passed to the king of Chalcia.

"In the time of Fadus," says the historian, "a cheat, by name Theudas, persuaded a very great multitude to take their goods with them and follow him to the Jordan, for that he was a prophet, and by a word would divide the river to afford them an easy passage. His impudence deceived many. Fadus, however, let them gain nothing by their folly, but sent out a squadron of cavalry against them, which came upon them unawares, slaying many, and taking many alive."

also Theudas himself, cut off his head, and brought it to Jerusalem." A more simple guide tells us that, "before these days rose up Theudas, boasting himself to be somebody, to whom a number of men, about four hundred, joined themselves: who was slain, and all as many as obeyed him were scattered and brought to nought."

Cuspius Fadus was relieved by **TIBERIUS ALEXANDER**, son of the Alabarch of the Jews in Alexandria, and an apostate to polytheism. "In his time came to pass the great famine in Judea," prophesied by Agabus (Acts xi. 28.) Alexander crucified the sons of that noted insurgent, Judas of Galilee, and shortly closed his administration, followed by **Ventidius Cumanus**. About the same time, the eighth year of **Claudius** (A.D. 49), Herod, king of Chalcis, died, leaving children, who derived, however, no benefit from their hereditary title, as the emperor granted the dominions thus vacant to **Agrippa II.**, son of **Agrippa** the former king of Judea and the tetrarchies.

At the festival of the passover tumults were most to be apprehended, and **CUMANUS** accordingly ordered a portion of the troops to see the public peace was preserved, a precaution not unusual, stationing them within the porches of the temple. On the fourth day one of

* Acts v. 36. The chronology requires attention. "*Quam difficultatem*," says Wetstein, "*non alia ratione commodius solvemus, quam si cum L. Capello dicamus, hæc verba commatis 36 non esse Gamalielis in Synedrio sententiam dicentis, sed Lucæ scribentis, et velut interfantis, factumque Theudæ cum illo Judæ Galilæi ob similitudinem conjungentis.*"—Wetstein, *Nœv. Test.*, vol. ii., p. 488.

† He mentions it also with prices of provisions, vol. i., p. 192.

the soldiery, with the contempt for the Jews common to most men at the time, insulted the assembled multitude by a scoffing and indecent action, which naturally incensed them against both the man himself and his commander. The result was, that the rest of the forces were called out, the multitude dispersed in terror, and, says Josephus, twenty thousand persons were numbered as trampled or crushed to death in the confusion. Such events as these have a bearing more or less direct upon the final rebellion: for they, at least, serve to illustrate the character of that superintendence which the conquerors exercised over the conquered, and to accumulate causes of complaint which would rankle in various minds, and so, at last, fill up the measure of indignation against the oppressors. The sorrows of the late calamity had scarce subsided, when a new wound was inflicted on the religious feelings of the nation. A slave of the emperor was attacked on the public road by Bethoron, twelve miles from the capital, and robbed. The retribution was an order to the troops to sack the villages near the spot, and take into custody the chiefest men therein. In the execution of this command one of the soldiers found a copy of the Law, which he openly blasphemed, tore, and burnt. This was instantly resented, a multitude ran together to Cæsarea demanding of Cumanus atonement for the insult to Jehovah: and the governor was so urged that he put the obnoxious soldier to death. The time of this ruler seems to have been spent in tumult. Some Galileans, on their way to one of the festivals, were killed by the

Samaritans, in a village on the road, and a representation of the facts made no impression on the Roman, who, we are told, had received bribes from the Samaritans, as others in his situation commonly did without scruple. The Jews, therefore, would redress the injury for themselves, and burnt some Samaritan villages. The disorder roused the negligent prefect, and with a troop of horse and four cohorts (which must be meant here, for that officer had never even one legion), he armed the Samaritans and beat back the Jews. Further opposition was prevented by the exertions of the local authorities, who deprecated conduct which would give a pretext to plunder the holy treasury, and, perhaps, destroy the temple itself. These entreaties are often described in similar cases, and they indicate a reasonable conviction that if anything occurred which could veil the iniquity, no considerations of justice or responsibility would deter the avaricious Roman officers from that lamentable sacrilege. When Ummidius Quadratus, governor of Syria, came into the neighbourhood, the Samaritans complained of the burning of the villages, and he, after citing all parties to his tribunal, put to death a few troublesome persons, and sent the Jewish high-priests, the leading men of the Samaritans, Celer a military tribune, and Cumanus himself, to Rome, to abide the decision of the emperor. The sentence of Claudius was banishment to Cumanus, and that Celer should be dragged through the streets of Jerusalem and executed. How this last victim was

* Ummidius, not Humidius. Bentley ad Horat., *Sat.* I. i. 96.

involved in the transaction does not appear: perhaps he commanded the troops in the affray. From this period we have little else to learn, than the continual sufferings, insults, and tyrannies, which made the Jews' lives unbearable.

ANTONIUS FELIX, brother of Pallas, one of those freedmen upon whom all the influence of the court devolved, during the sovereignty of the weak Claudius, was next invested with the Roman power in Judea. The domestic affairs of Felix have some interest. The emperor transferred Agrippa to the two tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias, Batanea, Trachonitis, Iturea, and Abilene, and Agrippa married his sister Drusilla to the king of Emesa. But not long afterwards this match was dissolved. Felix saw her, and conceived a passion for her, "for in beauty she surpassed all," and he employed Simon, a Jewish sorcerer of Cyprus^a, to persuade her to leave her husband and contract an alliance with him. The laws of divorce among the Romans were very lax. Augustus Cæsar had set an example, disgusting to modern ideas, and Herod the Great had introduced into Judea a contempt for the ordinance of matrimony as originally appointed, so that Drusilla, in yielding to the solicitations of her suitor, must not be supposed to be transgressing the customs of her station, nor to shew greater depravity than was common. She had by Felix a son, who perished by the same eruption of Vesuvius that destroyed Herculaneum and Pompeii.

It easily followed, from the uncertainty of the admi-

^a See Acts viii. 9; xiii. 6.

nistration, the affronts offered to religion, and the existence of followers of Judas the Galilean, who objected to pay taxes to Rome, that society was shaken, industry broken down, trade uninviting, and legitimate employment diminished. Banditti therefore infested the country, and to such an extent, that Felix hired a party to assassinate the high-priest, and was obliged to condescend to artifice and perjury before he could arrest one of the leaders. Some of them, denominated Sicarii, carrying concealed about them a curved blade, called *sica*, murdered their own or others' enemies, for spite or money. "Cheats also and deceivers persuaded the multitude to follow them into the wilderness, for they said they would shew them plain miracles and signs, brought to pass by the providence of God. And many paid the penalty of their folly, for Felix seized and executed them. There comes, moreover, about this time, one from Egypt to Jerusalem, saying that he was a prophet, and advising the vulgar to come with him to the Mount of Olives, which lies opposite the city, half a mile distant, for he 'wished,' he said, 'to show them from thence how, at his command, the walls of Jerusalem should fall, and give them entrance.' Felix attacked this impostor with horse and foot, killed four hundred, and made prisoners of two hundred. But the Egyptian fled and was not discovered." These deceivers were the offspring of misery: those who saw

* Compare Acts xxi. 38. The wilderness would be a convenient place for the mustering these bands. For chronology, see Gresswell's *Dissertations*, Appendix xix., p. 125, note. Ed. 1837.

No other relief for their sorrow looked for it from a supernatural source. The disorganisation of the ties which bind communities in concord and safety—"a sign of the times"—may be noted also from another instance. The chief priests quarrelled with the inferior priests; each made a band of ruffling followers, and engagements, with throwing of stones, took place in the streets, "as in time of anarchy." The chief priests also, by force, appropriated the tithes of corn, which were the subsistence and life of the inferior, of whom some died by starvation. Tacitus marks the character of Felix with the severest reproach, as combining the wilfulness of a despot with the meanness of a slave, but it does not appear that his account of the transactions can be reconciled with the facts.

PORCIUS FESTUS superseded Felix, who, accused at the termination of his period of office by the Cæsarean Jews, escaped condemnation only by the influence of his brother Pallas, enjoying the same favour with Nero as with Claudius, but afterwards poisoned, it is said, by his master for the sake of his money*. Burrhus, who had been the *pædagogus* of Nero, at this time procured a decree, depriving the Cæsarean Jews of their municipal rights there; a service for which he was well paid in hard cash, but which fanned the enmities in that town, till they afterwards broke out more seriously. Festus, on his arrival, found Judea full of banditti and sicarii: the former, with arms in their hands, plundered and burnt the villages; the latter assassinated in secret.

* Tacitus, *Annal.*, XIV. 65.

Another also of those false Saviours, who profited by the miseries of the nation, appeared promising safety and rest from their misfortunes: he was killed by Festus' troops. This governor, it seems, died in office.

ALBINUS was the next procurator; he did what he could to restore order and afford protection to industry and trade, and in particular inflicted justice on many of the sicarii. But the evils of the country were too inveterate; the impunity of the robber was at once a terror to the peaceable, and an encouragement to quit an unprotected and unprofitable occupation for one more exciting and advantageous. The sicarii one night came silently into Jerusalem, seized, bound, and carried off a person of some consequence. They then sent to the high-priest requiring, as the price of his release, the freedom of ten of their brethren arrested by Albinus. The high-priest accordingly begged that favour of the governor, and never afterwards did criminals long want a ransom. The assassins had only to possess themselves of a friend or domestic of the high-priest, and immediately the captives were bought off. When Albinus heard that his successor was appointed, he executed the more flagrant delinquents he had in custody, and liberated the rest for money.

He was replaced by GESSIUS FLORUS, whose wife had interest with Poppæa, and gained him an appointment, fatally to Judea, in which he fanned into a flame the evident embers of commotion, and drove the unhappy people subject to his tyranny to raise the standard of rebellion in the second year after his arrival.

Roman extortion and unscrupulous avarice must be regarded as the prime causes of the outbreak. It was not merely in Judea that the government acted the part of wolves, not shepherds to the flock², but in every corner of the empire. Sufficient means were provided, in all provinces at all liable to commotion, for the suppression of the bursts of popular feeling; and the task was not difficult in that large proportion of the Roman world, which had never possessed a strong or extensive nationality, and which, by admixture and the large change of inhabitants consequent on the intercourse arising from the union of the provinces into one great body, had lost whatever portion of patriotic feeling might once have breathed mutual confidence and spirit. The Jews were not thus whelmed in the mass of mankind: their national worship, their exemption from idolatry, their clean and unclean meats, their circumcision, drew a line between them and the Gentiles which was never evanescent; and the obligation of appearing to keep the festivals at Jerusalem, continued unbroken the connexion between the land of their fathers and themselves its children. And so with other countries where a mountain home or similar advantages circumscribed the people, and taught them to expect the assistance of their countrymen and brethren. Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt, Syria, had been rent to fragments and confounded together over and over again in the wars of Alexander's successors, and scarcely any

² Dio, l.v. 33. This was the answer of a Dalmatian chief to Tiberius.

band of brotherhood or fellowship remained; but Carthage, Spain, Gaul, Pannonia, Dalmatia, and all the Alpine countries, even Italy itself, fought in a thousand battles the noble struggle of independence. And should it not then be expected of the singularly exclusive Jew, though few and poor in resources, to vindicate the name of Israel and the house of God from the spoiler and oppressor? Under the republic it was a frequent subject of complaint "that the provinces were harassed and plundered," as Pompey, consul elect, said officially before the assembly of the people⁷; but under the emperors two voracious appetites were to be satiated, the chief and the subordinate: so that Tiberius cried for mercy upon his subjects, he would have his agents "take the fleece but leave the skin⁸." Syria and Judea, early in the reign of that emperor, worn out with their burdens, (*fessæ oneribus*,) had craved a reduction of taxation⁹, yet it was not the revenue that lay so heavy on the back, but the gratuities, confiscations, and plunder: the commander of troops could drive a whole town to contribution by a threat of billeting his men on the citizens: the unjust judge could condemn and execute one who refused a loan or gift, or if need were, a thousand; the aid of the police or military must be bought, and no public transaction could advance without a bribe at every step. As long as the government continued hereditary in the Herodian family, the exactions would be less severe; but when

⁷ Cic. *in Verr.*, i. 15. ⁸ Sueton., *Tib.*, 32. Dio, *lvii.* 10.

⁹ Tacit., *Annal.*, ii. 42.

it fell into the hands of men who must soon surrender their trust, and who must provide bribes to the imperial favourites besides profit for themselves, the rapacity of every succeeding governor would be more hardly satisfied and more acutely felt. Tacitus represents Felix and Cumanus as sharing the plunder of the bands that infested Samaria and Galilee, and then only putting down their audacity when they attacked the imperial troops themselves. It might at least have been expected of an oppressive government that it should provide an efficient military police. But bad men love disorderly times; we have already often seen how robbery terrified every good subject with insecurity: Eleazar, a bandit, put to death by Felix, had continued his ravages twenty years. Taking all the injustice and insults of the Roman conquerors into consideration, it cannot be surprising that the Jews were irritated; and by the unanimity and zeal which prevailed among them, encouraged to resistance.

The disturbances broke out in Cæsarea, where the Jews and Greeks formed two opposing factions, and the congregation of the synagogue were annoyed by a person who owned land adjoining to it, and wantonly built upon it in such a way as to inconvenience them. A handsome bribe to Florus induced him to retire from the town, with the understanding that in his absence the contending parties should fight it out; and it so happened that in the skirmish the Jews were beaten, and were obliged to retire from the town, fetching away the copy of the Law which was used

the synagogue, the only prize they had been able to save. They then applied to Florus for legal protection, and reminded him of his bribe, of which their men should, judiciously, have been less tenacious, for he was so incensed at this presumption, that he arrested the impolitic deputies. This was galling enough to the Jews, and to add to their spite he seized seven talents from the sacred treasury in the name of Caesar. The mob shewed their disapprobation of both the measure and the mover of it in somewhat coarse terms; and he, on the other hand, determined to carry things with a high hand, accompanied by a large guard, came to Jerusalem and demanded of the native authorities the surrender of those who had used his name so freely. Too many were involved to leave this easy execution, and receiving evasive answers he ordered his soldiers to plunder the Upper Market. The command was, of course, exceeded; 3600 lives were lost, and many private houses ransacked. Bernice, the sister of King Agrippa, standing barefooted before the tribunal of the insolent Gessius, and the high-priests calming the people by their entreaties, produced a short lull; but the Roman, whose object seems to have been the sacred treasury, which he could not touch without some plausible pretext, by a manoeuvre of his own produced a renewal of the tumult, and drove the Jews to active resistance. He informed the authorities that it would be a satisfactory proof of the peaceableness of the inhabitants if they would meet and welcome some fresh troops who were coming in: the proposal

being gladly accepted, he forwarded an intimation to his men that they should receive the welcome with silence, and if any reproachful expressions should be heard they should charge. All this was carried out fully: the multitude, incensed at the contemptuous silence with which their flattering language was received, abused Florus aloud: the troops charged, drove them in crowds upon the gate, trampled on them, and on entering the town were received with such volleys of missiles from the houses, that they were compelled to change their route through the city and proceed to the palace. The signal thus given, the populace cut off the communication between the Antonia and the temple, that Florus might not have the means of glutting his avarice by sacrilege. He was thus disappointed of his principal aim, and agreed to retire, leaving a cohort of six hundred men, and not that which had been engaged in the conflict, to guard the town.

Some account of this disturbance must be rendered to Cestius Gallus, the pro-consul of Syria, and his superior officer, who, receiving incongruous reports of the matter from different parties, sent a tribune to collect the truth. Agrippa met this functionary and entered Jerusalem with him. The king, anxious to save the city, made a speech to the people, whom he persuaded so far as to send the arrears of the taxes and submit generally to the Roman power; but when he would have induced them to receive Florus as before, they were wild with indignation, ordered him to

the city, and threw stones at him. The promoters of the riot then seized a small fortress called Masada, and refused to receive any sacrifice from a foreigner, a resolution aimed against Cæsar, who allowed something^b by way of propitiating the local divinity, as the God of Israel would be called by the heathen. These active steps towards rebellion were not pleasing to the more sober part; but their objections were overlooked, and they then called for the immediate interference of Florus and Agrippa. Florus was well pleased to find things so ripe, and gave no reply; but Agrippa sent them three thousand cavalry, that resisted seven days, and were then driven out by the prevailing party, who burnt the high-priest's residence, the palace of Agrippa and Bernice, and the town-hall. It was now time for action; too much was done to be recalled, and the insurgents attacked the Romans in the castle of Antonia, which in two days they took, putting the garrison to the sword^c. The next object was the hall^d, which after a tolerable defence was abandoned by Agrippa's men and by the peace-party who had taken refuge there, on permission to pass free, and then of necessity evacuated by the Romans, who retired to the strong towers Hippicos, Phasaël, and Mariamne. In it was found Ananias the high-priest, who had opposed the insurrection: he was put to death. The chief actor in these

^b Two lambs and a bull (calf) per day. Philo, *Leg. ad Cæsarem*, sec. 40.

^c Beginning of August A.D. 66.

^d Ἀὐλῆ, query of the Sanhedrim? See Matt. xxvi. 58, 60; Mark xvi. 54, 66; John xviii. 15.

attacks was Manahem, a son of the old rebel of the time of the taxation, Judas of Galilee: but others, conceiving a jealousy against him, rose and finally executed him. The Roman soldiers in the fortresses soon surrendered, on condition that their lives should be spared; but they had no sooner piled their arms than they were slaughtered, with only one exception, their commander, Metilius, who agreed to save his life by submitting to circumcision. This was singularly pusillanimous. The rest asked no mercy, and as they fell before their murderers, merely called aloud, that their enemies had pledged them safety. After such a breach of faith and so decided a rupture, it was impossible to expect anything but retribution from the Romans. The war was begun and the rebels must meet the consequences.

Hostilities having thus commenced, the surrounding cities looked upon the Jews living amongst them, as declared enemies to the Romans; and to show their loyalty, to gratify private hatred, or in hope of plunder, arrayed themselves in arms against the sons of Abraham. Where opportunity existed, the Jews were the assailants; and so the war appeared and spread through Cæsarea, Gerasa, Scythopolis, Gadara, Hippos, Gaulonitis, Kedasa, Ptolemais, Samaria, Ascalon, Anthedon, Gaza, Tyre, Philadelphia, and Alexandria in Egypt, in which last place the riot was severely suppressed.

It was impossible for Cestius Gallus to overlook the condition of his province; he set out from Antioch with troops of his own, and contingents from the principal-

ties under him, amounting to about twenty-five thousand men. He sent a detachment, which got possession of Joppa without trouble; and then proceeding into Galilee, he repressed all disturbance there. He next proceeded up the Valley of Bethoron towards Jerusalem; but his five hundred and fifteen men and some baggage before he could emerge from the defile; and about the middle of October, A.D. 66, entered Jerusalem. The temple was defended against him, and he attacked it, as every other besieger did, on the north. His machines, serving the purpose of artillery or musketry, swept the walls of the defenders: his soldiers, holding their shields above them, made a *testudo*, which protected them from injury, and worked at the wall with bars and pickaxes. But strangely, on a sudden, Cestius abandoned the attempt, recalled his troops, withdrew them, and encamped a mile from the city. This extraordinary retreat, which—it is our historian's reflection—was the work of Providence, to close the scene more fatally hereafter, gave the insurgents courage, and they cut off some of his men, both horse and foot. The next day the army continued its retreat, pressed, flank and rear, by the exulting Jews, who plied their weapons with such success, that three officers of rank were killed, with many others, and much baggage was lost. Cestius that day reached Gabaoh (Gibeah), six miles from Jerusalem, a place where he had encamped before, and remained two days, when he found that he was surrounded, and his communications interrupted by Jews on every side, so that he came to the resolution, justifi-

le only by the mountainous character of the country, the narrowness of the defiles, to destroy all the mals that were not loaded with the artillery of war, retreat as fast as possible. His road lay, almost at the first, by a long narrow valley, from the tall s of which the Jews poured down every kind of ile, while they were perfectly beyond his reach; march was so impeded by their attacks, that he r reached Bethoron twelve miles from Jerusalem night. At that post he commenced flight, no per retreat, leaving in his entrenchments, to deceive enemy, four hundred men, who were, of course, to pieces as soon as morning appeared. In the at he had won nearly four miles, no inconsiderable portion of a day's march for an army, and in the -time made forced progress, leaving behind his hanical artillery, which afterwards contributed very ch to the defence of Jerusalem. The Jews pursued as far as Antipatris, but did not overtake him. He in his ill-advised retreat five thousand three hundred infantry, and three hundred and eighty cavalry*.

* End of October, A.D. 66.

CHAPTER XVII.

AFTER dealing such a blow against the Romans, it was useless to measure consequences, or calculate their strength. The Jews had taken upon themselves to oppose in war an empire which had on foot a standing army of three hundred thousand men, besides auxiliaries^a, while they had themselves the disposal of not one company of soldiers. The population of Judea, and its neighbouring dependencies, might, at the very outside, amount to three millions^b, out of which total, the ordinary rules of statistics would give about six hundred thousand men able to bear arms. Now, of this amount, it would be impossible for the most severe and determined administration to maintain in the field more than, say, thirty thousand; and in the present state of Judea, no one fought who preferred to stay away. The Galilean army of one hundred thousand men^c existed only in calculation; the useful portion was only four thousand or five thousand^d, where the very indefiniteness demonstrates want of system. In fact, there was no army, no discipline, no generals, no commissariat, no *matériel* but the spoils of Cestius, no finances, no organization. The successes already gained were extempore,

^a Twenty-five legions (Tacitus, *Annal.*, iv. 5; Dio, l.v. 23), reckoned with their *socii* at twelve thousand each. Besides these, the regal auxiliaries.

^b Josephus, vol. ii., p. 399, where two million seven hundred thousand includes those who came from a distance, who were not few. Acts ii. 9—11.

^c Josephus, vol. ii., p. 208.

^d Id., p. 209.

depending wholly on the vantage ground of the mountain passes, and the animation produced by the enemy's retreat, and won by the roughest and simplest weapons nature can supply. They might, indeed, furbish up pieces of old armour but they were not habituated to the use of them, and must have been more encumbered than protected by them. In the absence of all method, where no one obeyed, and every one had an equal right to command or exhort, it would be impracticable to learn the number engaged in any skirmish, action, or siege; or to form an approximate guess at the sum of all who took part at various times in the war. The combatants, whose part it would be to shout and run, to throw a stone or brandish a knife, were no doubt very numerous. The termination, which only probability could suggest, to their defiance of the Romans, was utter loss of property, death to all who provoked the soldier's anger or were not worth his care, and slavery to the rest, especially the youth of both sexes. Such a prospect was as bad as any pains the lances or swords of the legions could inflict; and many a furious patriot would throw away his worthless life on the field of fight. The degree of solid effective resistance which could be maintained against the enemy's forces, may be learned from two attacks upon the town of Ascalon, which was garrisoned by one cohort of foot and one troop of horse¹; the latter being commanded by an officer whose name

* Josephus, vol. ii., p. 208.

¹ Six hundred foot; and by comparing pp. 225, 230, we find he means one hundred and twenty horse. See Lipsius, *de Militia Romana*, I., vi. vii.

was Antonius. The Jews came down to assault the town in considerable numbers, as appears by their loss, for nobody could know the sum of the living mob; and Antonius, who feared no such an assemblage, brought out his cavalry to the fight. The charge of cavalry, upon a scattered body of foot, is known to be fatal, almost to annihilation; and as he had to deal, Josephus says, with men only indifferently armed, the leading phalanxes, as it pleases our historian to call them, were driven back upon the rest, and the whole multitude was scattered over the plain: it was too wide to be soon cleared by the runaways, and had no interruption to the lancers' gallop, so that by the time evening came on, ten thousand Jews were dead, and pretty nearly all the rest wounded, without the loss of a man to the Romans. These were not agriculturists or villagers, but had come from Jerusalem to the conflict, and were commanded, if the word can have a place here, by three generals, whose names adorn the page of history, and two of whom were left dead on the field: and yet, with all these expressions of dignity, the affair was worthy of the most helpless barbarians. The repulse, however, was not a sufficient lesson; their triumph over Cestius still intoxicated them: they collected their "whole force," and made another attempt. Antonius, on this occasion, pre-occupied the passes; and before they had time "to draw themselves up for battle" he was upon them, and slew eight thousand of them. The sieges of towns form an exception to the easy victories of the Romans: they had but small improvements on the old

" Persian method of embanking up to the walls, and so
 " placing besiegers and besieged upon a level; and, con-
 " sequently, the mere masonry offered a resistance more
 " powerful than thousands of enemies. Desperation in
 " such cases could discover some points on which to vent
 " its fury; and missiles, which are accessible to warriors
 " unprepared and unharnessed for the open battle, were
 " available, and almost solely available upon both sides. It
 soon appeared, that whatever resources Judea might have
 offered to military promptitude and forethought, would
 certainly be unhusbanded and uncollected in her present
 condition. After the success, a very important success,
 at Bethoron, the authorities at Jerusalem elected mili-
 tary commanders, and assigned them districts; but they
 had only a nominal warrant to maintain their power,
 and were opposed by local chiefs and leaders of banditti,
 who thrust them out of precedence at pleasure. The
 historian Josephus was appointed prætor of Galilee,
 but for what qualities or experience we cannot divine,
 though in the upshot, if we may trust his own tale,
 the whole soul and energy of the war was concentrated
 in his important person.

A judicious general was of course required to conduct
 the war in Judea for the Romans. The news of Ces-
 tius' misfortune reached Nero in Greece, and he selected
 Vespasian, whose low birth and poverty made him an
 object of no jealousy, and whose exploits in Britain,
 where he had commanded a legion and reduced the Isle
 of Wight, had gained him credit*. He was allowed

* He was so poor as to be driven to slave dealing for support.
Sueton., Vesp., 41.

three Roman legions, the fifth, tenth,¹ and fifteenth, with contingents from the Syrian kings, and auxiliary cohorts, making up an army of between fifty and sixty thousand men. His troops were mustered at Ptolemais, and his first care was to send a detachment of six thousand foot and one thousand horse into Galilee, for the protection of the people of the principal town, Sepphoris (*Sippuri*), who adhered to the Romans. It illustrates the real weakness of Galilee, to see that Placidus, with this division, had no antagonist in the field, no bold guerilla warfare to embarrass him, and encamped unmolested in the great plain of Esdraelon. Here he lay in the midst of the hundred thousand warriors of Josephus, who were no doubt most heartily his enemies, but perfectly incompetent, for want of preparation, to cope with him, and was baffled only in attempting the fortified posts, as Iotapata, from which he "fled," with the loss of seven men. It was probably wise in Placidus, who was detached upon a different and defined service, to refuse a regular investment or serious attack on Iotapata. It was accessible only by a little space on the north, all the rest of it being surrounded by precipices which it made a man giddy to look upon; and lay in the bosom of mountains, high up on a ridge, so that the approach alone was matter of difficulty. It appeared to Vespasian necessary to destroy this town, probably because it might otherwise have been a nest swarming with parties of robbers, who would be a perpetual annoyance, and might form a nucleus for fresh commotions. Certainly, neither did

any armed force make even a show of opposition in the field, nor was the place to be regarded as a garrisoned town, formidable from its correspondence with the operations of friends in other quarters, and capable of combining to execute any military plan. The Romans met with a spirited resistance, which has been handed down to our times in very minute detail, if not complacent exaggeration. It took four days to make a road, so rugged was the mountain path, and so much was to be done by the pioneers, before the army could pass. Josephus threw himself into it on the fifth day^h. He says nothing of his means of defence, nothing of the number of his men, but only at last, in true consciousness of the confusion and nakedness of his multitude, reckons the number of the slain: it was forty thousand, a round number. These, crowded as they must have been, and destitute of efficient resources, had to contest the petty fortress (*castellum*)ⁱ with Vespasian's powerful and disciplined army,—which they did for forty-seven days, and even in this short time they were in want, not only of water, but provisions. The place was at last taken^k, after midnight, while the Jews, untrained in the vigilance of war, were asleep. Their conduct, though careless, and though possibly represented with too favourable an eye, was brave; for they held out six weeks against the best engineering skill of the day, and a train of one hundred and sixty machines, used like artillery for clearing the walls and

^h Early in May, A.D. 67.

ⁱ Suet., *Vesp.*, 4

^k Middle of June.

shaking them, and even wounded Vespasian himself in the ankle. Josephus, as he very candidly informs us, proposed to provide for his personal safety by flight, on the pretence of looking for relief, which pretence, however, did not occur to him till his intention was discovered; and, strange to say, after the capture of the city, he drew lots with forty others in concealment with him, for the turn to die, and came out, with one more, the last. We cannot but look upon this as a cunning trick: he had, in his prætorship of Galilee, been accused of Romanising; he had hid his measures to conciliate the favour of Agrippa, who was fighting with the enemies of his country; and now unlike the thousands who would rather die than surrender, we find him contriving and scheming how to get safely into the enemy's hands, and be cursed by all his brave countrymen as a renegade. His pretensions to prophecy, which were largely palmed upon Vespasian, to whom, he says, he was divinely commissioned to deliver an announcement of his imperial destiny, for which alone he survived, suffice to convince us of his deceitful character.

The main body of Vespasian's army was probably occupied at Iotapata, but he sent out detachments to Japha (now a village belonging to the convent of Nazareth)¹, where fifteen thousand killed, and two thousand prisoners,—and to Mount Gerizim, where eleven thousand six hundred killed,—indicated what fate those

¹ *Hasselquist's Travels*, p. 158.

might expect that dared to continue in rebellion. After the siege, Joppa was recovered, which had been seized by the Jews when evacuated by the Romans, and made the seat of piracy. Tiberias, on the Sea of Galilee, was disturbed by the war party, but opened her gates to the Romans: at Tarichæa, also on that lake, six thousand five hundred were killed in battle; one thousand two hundred in cold blood; six thousand were sent to Nero, who was digging away at the Isthmus of Corinth, and thirty thousand were sold for slaves. (End of August, A.D. 67.) Gamala, on the eastern side of the Lake of Gennesaret, was more strongly fortified by nature than Iotapata. The mountain on which it stood was in shape like a camel (*gamel*), and on every side but one the town was bounded by tremendous precipices. It was attacked in the usual way, and taken before the middle of October, A.D. 67. Here Agrippa was wounded by a stone from a sling in the right elbow: the number of killed was nine thousand. While the siege was proceeding, a considerable number was cut to pieces by the cavalry of Placidus at Mount Tabor. Gischala was the only town in that quarter, which now held out, and on the approach of Titus, John, leader of the war party, abandoned it, and took the road to Jerusalem, where he afterwards enacted a prominent part in the siege. The destruction of these petty forts in Galilee had occupied an entire campaign (it began late): the whole Jewish war, indeed, after Cestius' misfortune, consisted in these sieges, and the instruments of attack applicable to stone walls were in ancient

times so little formidable, that it excites no surprise to find such a period occupied in Galilee, whose mountains and precipices opposed their passive immobility to the invaders.

The tenth legion wintered at Bethsan, or Scythopolis, in the immediate neighbourhood of the recent conquests; the fifth and fifteenth at Cæsarea, more in the vicinity of Judea and Jerusalem. During the suspension of warlike operations, faction ran so high at Jerusalem, that some of the Roman officers recommended an attempt to storm the town; but Vespasian refused the advice, thinking that his appearance before the walls would restore concord, and esteeming it more expedient to allow the Jews to exhaust their resources by their bloody quarrels among themselves. The peace party in Jerusalem, headed by the chief of the priests and the friends of order and submission, was so strong, that the zealots or war party, who had seized the temple, considered their safety required the assistance of the Idumeans, by whose aid they gained an entire ascendancy over the opposite faction, who before that were ready to open the gates to the Romans.

The campaign of A.D. 68, opened by a march on Gadara (*Om Keis*), on the east of the Lake of Genesareth, and capital of Peræa. Here the friends of Roman government were so numerous, that they invited Vespasian to their town, and the rebels were not aware of the plot till the army was almost in sight, when they killed a man of station, whom they suspected of participation in it, and fled, falling on the

way into the hands of Placidus and the cavalry^m. The loss was 15,000 killed, 2200 prisoners, and an unknown amount drowned in the Jordan, into which they were driven by the charges of horse. Some time was then occupied in Idumea, that is, the South of Judea, where plunder, fire, slavery, and death, desolated the country, and enriched the conquerors. During his march, Vespasian left the fifth legion in a fortified camp at Emmaüs (*Nicopolis*) to hold in trust for him the command of the famous pass of Bethoron. About the middle of May he arrived at Jericho, and found the place deserted; here also he established a camp, intercepting all communication between Jerusalem and the east side of Jordan, and completed the chain of posts round the capital by others at Gophna, as appears from Titus' march; and at Adida, the situation of which is uncertain. These stations were maintained by the Romans, even after Vespasian was called away, and the troops left in them were only removed to join the army of Titus at the close of the sceneⁿ. The death of Nero, and the rapid ruin of Galba and Otho, suspended for more than two years the fatal blow which should lay the daughter of Sion in the dust, and visit with the

^m End of February, A.D. 68.

ⁿ To this may conveniently be referred the compassing with armies, Luke xxi. 20. Josephus expressly says, *περιτειχίζων Ἱεροσόλυμα πανταχόθεν*. There seems to have been no guard over the valley to Hebron: hence Simon came that way to Jerusalem. It may here be noticed, that the Christians were ordered by a special revelation to flee to Pella, *κατὰ τινα χρησμόν*. . . δι' ἀποκαλύψεως δοθέντα. Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, iii. 5.

fulness of divine vengeance that nation that, by every transgression man is guilty of, and by one crime eminent above all, had brought about the period when justice follows exhausted mercy. Some smaller expeditions, which produced plunder, as to Gerasa (*Djerabl*) and Hebron, spent the rest of the summer and autumn. During the winter, Vitellius was placed on the throne; and, as his character was contemptible, the news of his exaltation would naturally encourage Vespasian to rival him, for he was not in any respect his inferior, and far superior in military reputation. Marius, in Syria, with four legions, and two others in Alexandria, declared in his favour; and these, added to three of his own, gave him a fair chance in a venture for the empire. Those of Moesia and Pannonia joined his cause, and put his success beyond doubt. Antonius Primus gained a battle for him at Cremona, and Vespasian was Emperor of Rome. Rather the distance of the several provinces in which the legions who decided the choice of their military despot were encamped, both from each other, and from Rome, than any other circumstance, allowed Vitellius eight months of power, and occupied A.D. 69 with affairs more important to Vespasian than the siege of Jerusalem.

During the time that elapsed thus, Simon Bar-Gioras ravaged parts of Idumea, and was invited into Jerusalem, where he took his part with a bloody distinction in the siege. Eleazar also divided himself from the faction of John of Gischala, and seized the temple, which was the strongest post in the whole city.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE last winter of Jerusalem passed away in ferocious civil contests: her streets ran with native blood, shed by her own children; and instead of organising a regular defence against the approaching enemy, each faction was strengthening its position against Jewish antagonists. The city was divided into three garrisons, implacably hostile to each other. The party of Eleazar were strong in their possession of the temple, but weak in numbers; they were constantly engaged with John of Gischala, and the sacred precincts were polluted by blood and death. On the other side, John was harassed by Simon, son of Gioras^a, who occupied the upper city, and directing his animosity alternately against both, he annoyed Eleazar, who was on higher ground, by missiles, and in the intervals sallied forth against Simon, remaining on the defensive if they both urged him at once. The machines of John were able to reach those standing by the altar in the act of sacrifice, and that venerated spot was surrounded by the dead bodies of Jews and Gentiles, priests and laymen, whose blood stood in pools within the holy place. The forces of the three factions were as follows:—Simon had 10,000, and 5000 Idumeans; John had 6000; and Eleazar 2400. The population of the city in general

^a Hence Tacitus, *Hist.*, v. 12. "Simo, quem et Bar-Gioram vocabant:" and a false reading in Dio, lxvi. 7.

were inclined to submit to the Romans, and merely objects of plunder to the soldiers.

The army with which Vespasian had ravaged Judea had consisted of three legions, but from these he had drafted the best men under his friend Mucianus to assist his measures for securing the possession of the empire; the number deficient was now therefore filled up by two thousand chosen troops, which Titus brought from Alexandria^b, and three thousand from the garrisons which protected the frontier of the Euphrates against the Parthians. Titus was also followed by the twelfth legion, which was anxious to revenge its former defeat under Cestius Gallus; and thus there were engaged in the siege the twelfth, the tenth, the fifth, and the fifteenth legions. Titus, with the troops that accompanied him from Egypt, came through the desert and along the coast to Cæsarea, and there meeting his auxiliaries, commenced his march towards Jerusalem, taking the road by Samaria and Gophna, with the allies in the van. His four legions of Romans would amount in that age to twenty-four thousand men, and perhaps his whole army might be more than double that number. One night was spent at Gophna, after entering Judea, and the next day he reached Gaboth-Saul (*Saul's hill, Gibeah of Saul*), about five miles from Jerusalem. At this point, taking with him an escort of six hundred horse, he proceeded to reconnoitre the city. As soon as the head of his column turned, and began to sweep round the city, a "countless" band rushed out at one of the

^b From the third and twenty-second legions. Tacit., Hist., v. 1.

gates, and, dividing his cavalry, cut off Titus with a few others. He was so situate that he could not go forward, for the ground was intersected by the fences and ditches of the gardens up to the city walls, neither could he rejoin his men, for there was a host of enemies between him and them; and they, unconscious that their commander was intercepted, had turned and fled. Seeing that he must depend upon his own exertions, he turned his horse's head, and shouting to those about him to follow, dashed in amongst the enemy, and, though he had neither helmet nor breastplate, forced his way back uninjured to his own troops, with the loss of two men. Josephus, willing to compliment Titus, makes the most of this.

The troops were now brought up from Gaboth-Saul to within a mile of the city, where its whole extent could be surveyed, and where they were on a level with the northern quarter of it: orders were given for encamping two legions, that is, the twelfth and fifteenth, together; the fifth just arrived from Emmaus behind them; and the tenth, which shortly afterwards came up from Jericho, on the Mount of Olives, six furlongs from the city.

The besieged, having a full view of the three camps thus in formation, determined to dismiss their private quarrels and to join in an attack upon the Romans, as yet undefended by ramparts. They chose as the object of their assault the tenth legion, which was then working at its trenches, and, for the most part, had piled its arms, expecting that the intestine dissensions of the Jews and

fear of their adversaries, would restrain them from sally. The tone of Josephus implies presumptuous negligence on the part of the Romans, but this is not to be supposed: those who had retained their arms had done so as the usual precaution, and in the course of discipline: Julius Cæsar, on one occasion, has two-thirds of his men under arms to protect the labour of the remainder. The soldiers, however, being taken by surprise, were thrown into confusion, which affected them the more as they were accustomed only to exact order, and since the Jews came flocking on in greater and greater numbers, encouraged by the success of the first adventurers, the Romans at last gave way, and fell back from the ground marked out for their camp, so that the safety of the whole legion was at hazard. Titus, coming to the assistance of his men, drove the assailants down into the valley of Kedron, the crossing which placed them in safety. A little after mid-day he dismissed great part of the legion to complete their entrenchments, at which the watchman stationed on the walls shook his cloak out violently, and the Jews dashed again like wild beasts across the valley, carrying before them the troops still drawn up, a few only immediately round Titus keeping their ground. "The whole legion took to flight," but discovering the perilous situation of their general, they returned again to the charge, and drove the Jews down into the hollow. Josephus, still complimenting Titus, remarks, that thus he twice in his own person saved the entire legion.

Within the city some change took place at this period. It was the season of the Passover, and Eleazar's party opened the gates to those who wished to worship. Among such, John of Gischala sent in some of his own partisans, who, with swords concealed about them, got possession of the temple, and after the first burst agreed to an armistice, by which two factions were consolidated into one.

Titus next, for the purposes of attack, levelled a road from his post on the north side up to the city, chipping away the rocky prominences, and filling up the hollows with the fruit trees which adorned the gardens around. At this time the Jews practised a stratagem. They seemed to be driving out of the city the advocates for war, and pretending a desire to capitulate, shouted from the battlements for peace. By this manœuvre they deceived a few of the Roman soldiers, who, with some difficulty, made their way back to their friends; and the Jews testified their delight at their own successful ingenuity by dancing and shouting on the walls. In four days Titus removed nearer to the town, establishing himself at the distance of two furlongs, opposite the tower Psephinus: the tenth legion remained on the Mount of Olives. After taking a review of the city he fixed on attacking it near the monument of John, the high-priest, where the first wall was lower; and between the first and second walls a considerable space, more than a bowshot^d, was unoccupied by houses.

Being arrived, therefore, at the commencement of the

^d Josephus, *Bell.*, p. 341, sec. 3.

actual operations against the town, we must allow ourselves here a short digression. The method pursued by Titus against Jerusalem, was the very same that was used by the Romans and other cultivated nations in all similar cases. It consisted in forming a bank, (such as a railway exemplifies,) approaching the wall by degrees, as it tended to completion, and of such height, that when finished the besiegers might stand nearly on a level with the besieged. The materials which the bank was formed varied according to convenience: earth was somewhat scanty in the rocky neighbourhood of Jerusalem, and timber was much available for the purpose. The workmen, that is, the soldiery, employed in the construction of this embankment, would necessarily be much exposed to missiles from the besieged; and for their protection, screens of every kind, penthouses, and hurdles were carried forward, preserved from the enemy's application of fire by coatings of iron, hides, or anything else that seemed best. For the same purpose of defending the workmen, the arts of the engineers were taxed to the utmost in the construction of machines, which should prevent the besieged from manning the walls at all. Towers in several stories, of an amazing height, were rolled on wheels towards the point of conflict, and in these were stationed companies of bowmen, slingers, and javelineers, assisted, perhaps, by small catapults, and the energies of all were directed to prevent a single hostile hand being raised against the banksmen or others. Machines for casting missiles with the

greatest force were invented in vast variety. In the principle of their construction they were of two kinds, catapults and ballistas. Catapults were enormous cross-bows for the discharge of arrows, and from them the arrow parted with a flight so rapid as to fetch sparks of fire from the groove by which it was directed^c. The ballista was essentially composed of a spring of tough wood, which was drawn by main force (or a screw, &c.) to a horizontal position; and when thus at full stretch, was suddenly liberated by the blow of a hammer, so that, being checked when vertical, it hurled the stones with which it was charged not without considerable effect. Josephus, in the siege of Iotapata, saw a stone ball thus propelled strike off the head of a man by his side to the distance of three stadia, (six hundred yards,) "like a bullet from a sling^d." "In the fields about Ptolemais," says Mr. Maundrell^e, "we saw scattered up and down several large balls of stone of at least thirteen or fourteen inches diameter." At Beer, on the Euphrates, he saw others of twenty inches diameter^f. When, by the superiority of the besieging army, the mound had been driven up to the face of the wall, then the battering ram was brought into play. It shook the walls with

^c Of both catapults and ballistas the *locus classicus* is Ammian. Marcell. xxiii. 4, *Life of Julian*, but he inverts the names.

^d Josephus, *Bell.*, vol. ii., p. 233. Haverc.

^e *Journey*, p. 54. Consult Vitruvius, X. x.

^f *Journey*, p. 156. At the same place he saw remains of some old siege-machines, "wheels of entire blocks of wood, two feet thick in the nave, and cut to an edge somewhat in the periphery."

the efficiency of cannon: and we shall see that the heavy fortifications of Jerusalem were unequal to resist it. Against these arts of the besiegers, the business of the besieged was to lay hold one way or other of the towers, penthouses, and machines, with fire; by covering them with pitch, by throwing fire-balls, or burning combustibles attached to arrows and javelins upon them; to ply their own catapults and ballistas; to destroy the enemy's works by sallies; to catch them at favourable moments and pour in showers of arrows; to sink their embankments by mines; to parry the blows of the ram by intercepting them with sacks of sand or wool, or by haling its head sideways by ropes;—indeed, every method which their ingenuity could devise was gladly tried.

It may be observed that this systematic method of siege was originally Oriental. The first notice of it is, I believe, in the time of David. "They cast up a bank against the city, (Abel-beth-Maachah,) and it stood in the trench, and all the people that were with David battered the city to throw it down," (about B.C. 1020.) Engines of war were provided by Uzziah, "invented by cunning men, to be on the towers and on the bulwarks to shoot arrows and great stones withal," (about B.C. 800.) Some mention of the same arts is made in the time of Sennacherib and Isaiah, about B.C. 713; of Nebuchadnezzar and Jeremiah, about B.C. 600, ("Hew ye down trees and cast a mount against Jerusalem;") and especially in Nebuchadnezzar's siege of Tyre, where "every head was made bald, and

every shoulder was peeled" by the burdensⁱ. The Persians introduced this method to the knowledge of the Asiatic Greeks as soon as ever they came in contact with them, by employing it against them^k, and from the Asiatics the Athenians learnt it^l.

For the execution of the works he proposed, Titus divided his army into three brigades, each of which was to form an embankment of its own; he placed his archers between the mounds, and the machines before them. The suburbs were soon stripped of their trees for the purposes of the siege. The tenth legion distinguished itself, and having contrived more powerful engines than the others, even threw stones the weight of a talent (about half a hundred weight) to the distance of two furlongs upon the walls. The shots, however, were visible from their whiteness, and the Jews had watchmen on the towers, who gave warning, "It's coming!" on which they stepped aside and avoided the blow; but the Romans blackened the stone, which then struck down and crushed, not merely single men, but many together. Of the people within, Simon, being nearest the attack, was most active. The engines taken from Cestius and from the tower Antonia were of little use; for, though instructed by deserters, (en-

ⁱ 2 Sam. xx. 15; 2 Chron. xxvi. 14; Isaiah xxxvii. 33; 2 Kings xix. 32, add Isaiah xxix. 3. Jeremiah. vi. 6, add Habakkuk i. 10; hence explain 1 Kings xx. 10. Ezekiel xxix. 18, add iv. 2, xxi. 22, xxvi. 8; Daniel xi. 15. According to a negligent author in Athenæus, p. 529, Nineveh (B.C. 606) fell by this method.

^k Herodot., i. 161.

^l See Thucyd., i. 102.

^m See Dr. Cardwell on the place: MSS. *ὁ υἱὸς ἐπ' ἑταί.*

listed Jews it may be, or runaway delinquents,) the besieged managed them but awkwardly. When it was ascertained by throwing a plummet that the battering rams might be brought into play, Titus had them advanced. The three several rams at once began their battering, and filled the defenders with fear. They gave up their disputes and united in one effort against the foe: standing on the battlements, they threw fire upon the machines, and missiles against those who worked them; the boldest also tore away the wicker screens and attacked the men protected beneath; while Titus with cavalry and archery repulsed their attempts and gave full effect to the rams, of which that belonging to the fifteenth legion brought down the corner of a tower. Whether awed by this circumstance, or weary with fighting, the Jews seemed on a sudden to desist from their sallies. The Romans were dispersed about the works and entrenchments:—suddenly, through an unperceived gate, the whole united force of the besieged came pouring forth with flaming brands to set the machines on fire. They spread on; the besiegers were put to flight, and a terrible conflict took place about the engines, which, but for the manful resistance of some of the soldiers from Alexandria, who gave Cæsar time to come up with his horse, would then have been destroyed by the fire. Titus killed twelve men with his own hand, and the rest sullenly retreated. We may well suppose that true, which has been preserved by Suetonius, but suppressed by the adulation of Josephus, that the twelve men fell not by the sword, but

by arrows from the hand of Titus. The next night there was an alarm in the Roman camp, from the tremendous noise caused by the fall of one of the three towers seventy feet high, which had been erected upon the embankments. The disturbance produced was set at rest by proclamation of its origin, made by order of Titus. "These towers," says Josephus, "were the greatest annoyance to the Jews; they were manned by archers, javelineers, and slingers, who helped to clear the wall of its defenders. It was impossible to upset them from their weight, to reach their tops from their height, or to fire them, for they were coated with iron." And now the wall began to give way to the attacks of Nico, (the Victorious,) for so the Jews called the biggest battering ram; and as this rampart seemed less worth defence from their having two others, and its custody required that they should pass the night at a distance from their houses, through fatigue, and indifference, and evil counsel, as soon as Nico made a breach, they abandoned their stations and retired to the second wall. Thus the Romans, getting possession of the first wall on the fifteenth day of the assault, pulled down as much of it as their purpose required.

Titus now removed within the first wall to a position near "the camp of the Assyrians," and immediately gave orders for the attack of the second wall. Here

^a Sueton., *Titus*, 5. "Novissima Hierosolymorum oppugnatione xii. (al. vii.) propugnatores totidem sagittarum confecit ictibus." Also Eutrop., VII. xxi. Compare Sueton., *Titus*, 3. "Armorum et equitandi peritissimus."

the conflict became more terrible; the party of John defended the portion nearest them; that of Simon the rest of the side exposed. The Jews made perpetual sallies, and fought with the most dauntless courage. Without the wall the Roman discipline in general prevailed, and they were driven back; from the walls, on the other hand, they had manifest advantage. Both parties passed the night in arms,—the Jews from fear of leaving their walls defenceless, the Romans in constant dread of a surprise. The battering ram was ordered up against the central tower of the north wall; and after its thunders had been a short time suspended by a man who amused the Roman commander by a shew of surrendering himself, it brought that tower down, and so Titus took the second wall, the fifth day after the first had been reduced.

This conquest laid open to him that part of the new city, where the wool-staplers', braziers', and clothiers' warehouses and market were situate. The possession of the first line of defence had introduced him to a not quite vacant plat of ground; now, after the second had been surmounted, we find him in the streets. It was an excusable and prudent precaution to clear away an open space among the houses, that nothing might impede the communications of the Romans; but Titus, hoping that his leniency would have a good effect, left the streets as he found them, and restraining his men from plunder and burning, allowed the common folk to preserve their property. The garrison did not permit the opportunity to pass unimproved; but repressing

with threats and death any disposition to favour the Romans, which might be shown by the commonalty, they fell upon the troops that had entered the city, in number one thousand. Some fought from the houses, others made head in the narrow streets, and others rushing from gates higher up, appeared on the outside of the wall. The Roman guards upon the breach leaped down and totally abandoned their companions in the newly acquired part of the city. The Jews increased every instant in numbers; they knew every lane and alley, and appeared on every side. To retire rapidly was out of the power of the Romans, for the narrowness of the breach admitted only a few at a time. But Titus, placing archers at the heads of the lanes and streets, and taking his own post where the numbers showed the strongest, gave time for a gradual retreat, and so brought his men back to the outside of the wall.

Thus the Romans were repulsed after getting possession of the second line; and as this success raised the spirits of the Jews, they barricaded and manned the breach boldly, and for three days held it against the enemy. On the fourth day they were compelled to retire, and Titus did not now neglect to pull down the northern portion of the wall, and garrison the southern towers.

Two walls had now fallen, and a large quarter of the city was occupied, but still the formidable tower Antonia, the temple, strong in its separate mountain, and the heights of Sion, remained unsubdued, and

offered serious obstacles. Titus suspended the siege for a few days, and as the period was at hand when the troops usually received their pay, employed the interval in a review. The legions, as was usual, marched with shields bared of their leather coverings, displaying their brilliant polish, while the cavalry led their horses dressed out in all their trappings. The Romans beheld the spectacle, gleaming with gold and silver, in delight, the Jews in consternation. The entire length of the old wall, and the northern cloisters of the temple, were crowded with gazers; every house was full, and the whole city seemed covered with the multitude of heads.

No overtures for peace having been made by the besieged, on the fifth day Titus resumed his operations, and assigning one embankment to each of his legions, he directed two against the castle Antonia, which commanded both the temple and the city, and two against the upper city, near the Monument of John; the former were in conflict with the "Zealots," under John of Gischala, the latter had Simon for their antagonist. These two captains were provided with three hundred catapults and forty ballistas, with the management of which practice had made them tolerably well acquainted. The inhabitants were suffering much from famine: it became a practice among them to sell their property for gold coin, which they swallowed, and then leaving the city, recovered it as they could. These deserters were unnoticed by Titus, but put to death if even a suspicion of their intentions was sug-

gested to the party of Simon and John°. Corn was nowhere to be seen, the granaries had long since been destroyed in the conflict of the factions, and the search for it now grew severe: when discovered, the inmates of that house were punished for not having produced it on demand; if none was found, they were tortured to confess their hiding-places for it. Any one who seemed sleek and hale was concluded to have secret stores; the pale and emaciated were passed by. If one could purchase by the sacrifice of his entire property a single measure of wheat or barley, he ate it, perhaps, in the closest chamber of his house, altogether uncooked, or snatched half baked from the coals. No one now laid out a table for a meal. Wives would steal the last morsel from husbands, children from parents, mothers from children; they would intercept even their own milk from the lips of their pining babes. Even the most scanty supply of food was consumed in terror and peril. The marauders were always prowling about. If a house was closed they supposed that eating was going on; they burst in, and squeezed the crumbs from the mouths and throats of those who had swallowed them. Old men were scourged till they surrendered the food, to which their hands clung desperately: and women were dragged about by the hair till they gave up what they had. Children were seized as they hung upon the miserable morsels they had got, whirled round, and dashed upon the pave-

° The city was not now blockaded, but assaulted on two points, Titus therefore could know little of those that left it.

ment. Those who anticipated the plunderers, by swallowing every atom, were still more cruelly treated, as if they had committed a crime. Tortures, which cannot be decently translated, were employed to ascertain whether food had been taken. If any wretches crept out near the Roman posts^p to pick up some miserable herbs or vegetables, they were plundered on their return; and if they entreated, in the awful name of God, that some portion, at least, might be left them of what they had obtained at the hazard of their lives, they might think themselves well off if they escaped being killed as well as pillaged. The richer sort were accused before the tyrants themselves of a treasonable correspondence with the Romans, or of an intention to desert. He that had been plundered by Simon was forwarded to John; he that had been stripped by John was made over to Simon; "and so they drank to each other out of the blood of the citizens, and shared their corpses between them." It appears that the surrounding country threw in no provisions: this is explained when we recollect that all but the capital was conquered, and the positions the army of Titus occupied were the "breathing holes" of the city.

To intercept those who came down into the valleys to obtain food, the Roman commander ordered a detachment of horse to cut them off; and when resistance was offered, the prisoners were crucified, five hundred a

^p From this expression we may draw the conclusion that the horrors related do not belong precisely to the first two months of the siege, but, though taken here, extend to a later period.

day or more, till there was no more room for the crosses, and no more crosses for the victims^a. In mockery, some were nailed up in one posture, some in another. Titus pitied their fate, but had not men to spare for the safe custody of so many prisoners. The Jewish soldiery dragged peaceably disposed persons into sight of this horrible spectacle, that they might know what to expect from the Romans. Some of his prisoners Titus sent back with the sword-hand lopped off, to show that they had been taken in arms, and charged them with arguments of surrender to the chiefs. As he inspected his military works he was assailed by the defenders with evil language, and assurances "that they despised death, and deliberately preferred it to slavery: that as long as they had breath they would do all the mischief they could to the Romans: that they looked forward to the grave, which would blind them to the miseries of their native city: and as for the temple, it might perish, for the universe was a more splendid residence for the Almighty presence; but yet that He would preserve this his chosen habitation, and that He was on their side, in whose hands lay the end of all."

At this time a son of the king of Commagene brought a band of youths dressed and armed in the Macedonian fashion, and expressed his wonder at the delay of the Romans in making the assault. Titus smiled, and said, "The service is open;" whereupon the

This seems contrary to Titus' general character and his leniency hitherto: is there any truth in what Dio, l.xvi. 4, 5, says, that they crept out by their subterranean galleries and poisoned the springs the Romans used?

young man advanced with his Macedonians to the wall, but was beaten back with almost all his men killed or wounded.

After seventeen days' labour the embankments against the tower Antonia were complete, and the engines brought to bear, when, just as all was ready, John set fire to the wooden pillars of a mine he had constructed, and down rolled the banks into the hollow, amid smoke and flame, and half smothered combustibles. The Romans were thunderstruck, and gave up all attempt to preserve their works, thinking that if they rescued them from the flames still their labour was bootless, for their mounds were "swallowed up." Two days after, Simon rivalled the enterprise of John, by an attack upon the rams which had already begun to shake the walls from the mounds on his quarter. Some of his followers, fierce warriors as were to be found in the city, advanced against the enemy with as much coolness as if they had been among friends, and amidst blows and thrusts set fire to the engines, nor desisted from their purpose till the fire had got a good hold. As the flame rose the besiegers poured forth from their camp to extinguish it, while the Jews joined battle with those who came thus to the rescue, and held fast amid the flames by the hot iron of the machines, against the others trying to drag them back out of the fire, though the penthouses on them were in a blaze. At last, as the destructive element gained ground and seized on the materials of the embankments, the Romans hurried back to their camp followed by the Jews,

■ who drove them on till they rallied behind the pickets,
■ always stationed at the gates. Titus had been at the
tower Antonia looking out a place to renew his banks
■ there, and when he arrived he drove the Jews back
■ into the city, but his mounds were gone, the labour
■ lost; and many began to despair of ever taking Jeru-
■ salem by the common instruments of war.

■ After the operations had been thus thwarted, Titus
■ held a council, and determined on the measures pro-
posed. These were three: one to attack the town by
storm, for only a fraction of the troops had yet been
engaged at the four points of contact, the extremities of
the four embankments—another to blockade it—a third
to repair the engines. Titus, in summing up, stated
the objections to the blockade—the weakening their
rank by taking so large a circle—the appearance of in-
activity, disgraceful with so large a force—and against
the general attack, that it was imprudent to fight with
men driven to desperation—and, therefore, determined
to unite the advantages of a blockade with those of an
assault by drawing a line of circumvallation completely
round the city, and so hindering all introduction of
provisions, and also by restoring the mounds and en-
gines; though the want of materials would be a serious
obstacle to this measure, for all the timber around the
city had been felled in the previous operations.

In conformity with this plan, he surrounded the city
by a rampart thirty-nine furlongs in length. By the
zeal of the troops, it was finished in three days: there
were thirteen stations on the outside in contact with it,

the circuit of which added ten furlongs more*. The Jews were thus cut off from all egress, and the famine taking a wide range, devoured by houses and by families. The habitations were full of fainting women and children, the streets of the dead bodies of old men: "young men, hollow as ghosts, staggered about the squares, and fell wherever the last fit seized them. As for burying them, those that were sick were not able to do it: those that held out were deterred by the great multitude of the corpses, and by the uncertainty about their own fate; for many died upon the very bodies they were depositing in the earth; and many, before the destined hour arrived, conveyed themselves to the tombs. At these events there was no wailing or weeping; but with dry eyes and open mouths the sinking survivors looked on such as had reached rest before them. Deep silence and a night of death occupied the city; and yet worse than all, the robbers themselves: for breaking into the houses, like violators of graves, they plundered the dead with mockery. They tried the edges of their swords upon the corpses, and as men lay alive, they thrust at them to test the temper of their weapons; but proudly left to die of starvation, those who requested their assistance to hasten death. Each victim died with his eyes fixed on the temple, and left the factious alive behind him: dreading the stench, they at first ordered that all should be buried at the public expense; but afterwards, when the charges were too heavy, they cast them off the walls down into the

* Compare Luke xix. 41.

valleys. Titus, as he went his rounds and saw these bodies rotting in gore, groaned, and stretching his hands towards heaven, called God to witness that this was not his work !”

The deserters (freely received by the Romans,) hastily filling their enfeebled bodies with food, fell victims to their avidity; and some perished through the covetousness of others,—for a man had been seen searching his excrements for gold he had swallowed, and a report spread through the camp that all the deserters had brought off their treasures in like manner. The Syrians and Arab allies set on them and cut open their living bodies for gold. Two thousand are said to have perished in this way in a single night; and all Titus’ threats could not entirely put an end to this cruelty.

John now melted down the sacred vessels of the temple, and distributed the wine and oil to the people, —“an act more impious than that which called down the wrath of God on Sodom.”

“But why should I detail all these calamities?” A deserter at this period stated that he had paid, on the public account, at one gate only, for the disposal of 115,880 dead in ten weeks’ time, reckoning from the beginning of the siege. Soon after, some deserters of note stated the number of the pauper dead at 600,000, with an infinite multitude of others. They said that houses had now been turned into catacombs; that a measure of corn sold for a talent, = 200*l.*; and that the sewers and old dunghills were searched for food, so that men ate what was not even fit to be looked upon.

On the part of the Romans four banks were raised against the tower Antonia alone, and though the timber was now brought from a distance of twelve miles, in twenty-one days the mounds were complete, and the rams began to play; but as they did not succeed well, the assailants, locking their shields together over their heads, worked at the foundation with crow-bars, and got out four large stones. The next night the wall fell in, giving way at the mine which had formerly been made. This was ten weeks after the paschal full-moon.

In the morning a new wall appeared built by the foresight of John; and Titus addressed the soldiers, urging an attempt on the breach. A Syrian, Sabius, accepted the invitation, with only eleven others, and failed: he, with three of his fellows, was killed, eight were wounded.

Two days afterwards, twenty of the picket-men stationed to protect the mounds, with the eagle-bearer of the fifth legion, two cavalry soldiers, and one trumpeter, ascended through the ruins to the tower Antonia, at the ninth hour of the night, with all silence. They killed the first sleeping sentinels they met with, and then ordered the trumpeter to sound his trumpet. At this, the remaining sentinels waked and fled; and Caesar hearing the signal, hastened to profit by the hint, and came up with chosen men as quickly as possible. The Romans followed the retreating Jews towards the temple, and some very sharp skirmishing took place, in which one Julian signalised himself; but finally the

Jews drove back the besiegers to the tower. Titus proceeded to level the foundations of Antonia, and afford a broader space for the expansion of the attacking forces. And, hearing that the Daily Sacrifice was interrupted, he endeavoured to take advantage of the impression made on the people, by using the oratorical powers of Josephus in persuading them to surrender before the temple should be injured. John's reply was, that he feared not the taking of the city, for it was God's own.

A consequence of the resolution which the Jews had taken to make the temple their fortress, was, that it was surrounded, as it were, with a circle of dead bodies; and even Titus expostulated with them on the profaneness, and reminded them that it had once been death for a Gentile to pass within that court, which now was polluted with blood.

The Roman general next tried an assault, which, from the heights of the Antonia, he viewed in person. It began at three in the morning, and after eight hours' contest, the Romans had not gained a foot of ground.

The legions now commenced four banks against the temple: one at the north-west angle, one against a building projecting on the north, and two others on the northern and western porticoes or cloisters. The Jews

* This speech, not quite so scholastic as one previously, contains the following sentence: "Who knows not the writings of the ancient prophets, and the oracle now trembling in the balance, and about to be fulfilled on this wretched city." *The oracle*, in the mouth of the Pharisee Josephus, was, of course, not a prediction of our Lord. *Bell. Jud.*, iv, 6, gives a *traditional* oracle.

even now continued their sallies, and surprised several horses belonging to the Roman cavalry: they attempted also to scale the circumvallation on the side of the Mount of Olives, but were repulsed. Both parties facing each other on the outskirts of the temple, it was applied fire to the external buildings of the same edifice, and devouring cloister after cloister, cleared the whole space between the temple and the assault. Some of the Romans lost their lives by the fire.

In the city, the suffering was inexpressible. If there was food, it was fought for—and even by the dearest relatives. The robbers stumbled about with open mouths, like mad dogs, and, thundering at the doors, like drunken fellows, visited perhaps three times in an hour the same house in their helplessness. Everything was eaten. What even the filthiest brutes taste not, they devoured: they chewed their belts, their shoes, and leather coatings of the shields. Some lived on scraps of old hay; and the least “weight” of it was sold for four Attic drachmæ*. But, of all most horrible, a woman, whose lineage, name, and former residence are distinctly stated, was found to have roasted her young child, and devoured one half of it, displaying the remainder to the robbers with mockery and reproaches.

Two mounds being complete on the 8th of August, the battering rams began their work; but in six days the stoutest engine the Romans had, produced no impression on the mighty well-jointed stones of the tem-

* Half-a-crown.

Compare Deut. xxviii. 56.

ple. Scaling-ladders succeeded no better, and the Jews even got possession of some of the ensigns. The soldiers, however, applied fire to the gates, and the silver melting, the woodwork was soon in a flame; a council of war was held, therefore, at which it was resolved to spare the temple, and to extinguish the fire, and orders were issued to that effect. "God, however, had overruled these purposes, and the destined revolution of time was now complete, on the tenth of Louï (August), the day it had been previously burnt by the king of Babylon." A soldier, lifted on the shoulders of another, with a brand from the burning ruins, set fire to a little golden door or window (about one o'clock in the day). Titus had retired for rest and refreshment, and as soon as the news was brought him, he rushed forth with shouts and gestures, urging the soldiers to stay the progress of the flames. The excitement, however, was so great, that they pretended not to hear his orders, and called to those in front to throw in more fire. When Titus found his exertions vain, he entered to view the interior, and finding the flames had not yet reached it, he returned again to the outside, making a centurion beat back the forward soldiery with blows. But while thus occupied, one who had advanced into the interior thrust fire in between the hinges of a door, and as the flames showed from within, Cæsar left the attempt to save it, and the TEMPLE WAS BURNT.

The prodigies related by Josephus may be mentioned here, as they relate principally to the temple. They were, a star or meteor, like a sword, that stood

over the city—a comet that lasted a year—a strange light in the feast of unleavened bread, around the temple and altar, at the ninth hour of the night—a beam that brought forth a lamb in the temple—the opening of the heavy brazen eastern gate of itself—the voice heard, “Let us depart hence”—the man that cried for seven years and five months, “Woe! Woe! to Jerusalem!”—and the appearance of chariots and armed phalanxes galloping in the clouds. Of this last sign it may be remarked, that Josephus has mentioned the time of the day when it occurred, (just) before sunset; an expression which presents us with something like a verification, for these phenomena do not, I believe, ever occur but when the sun’s rays are horizontal, and only in mountainous countries, such as Judea.

Titus, up to this time, had received deserters with indulgence, as indeed, notwithstanding his threats, he continued to do till the last; but he executed some of the priests, who, having escaped to the top of the walls, were obliged by hunger to descend.

The upper city, Sion, still held out: its case was desperate; but Simon and John refused to surrender at discretion, and Titus, exasperated at their continued resistance, which imposed on him the labour of raising his banks here also, at greater trouble than ever, plundered and set fire to the lower city, which was in his possession. Josephus says, that the number of deserters

* See Sir David Brewster’s *Natural Magic*, pp. 127 to 156. A similar picture of the yeomanry was seen in the Mendip Hills, 1835.

was "infinite:" multitudes would of course be anxious to leave the almost fallen city, and prefer slavery to death; the most criminal were selected from them and slain, the rest were sold at the lowest price". One of the priests purchased his own safety by surrendering from the temple wall "two candlesticks, tables, bowls, and goblets, all of massive solid gold." He also gave up the curtains and the dresses of the high-priests, with the precious stones, and many other articles of sacred furniture. Phineas, the keeper of the treasure, was captured with arms in his hands, and bought his pardon by discovering "the tunics and girdles of the priests, and much cloth of purple, both of the murex and vegetable dye, laid up for use in the making of the curtains or veils, and moreover a large quantity of cinnamon and cassia*, and of other perfumes which were daily burnt" on the altar of incense.

In eighteen days the banks were complete, and the upper city taken. No defence was made, and the usual scenes of a town taken by storm ensued. When slaughter was stayed, seven hundred of the tallest youths were selected to adorn the triumph of Titus, and the rest were disposed of as best they might be. Those under seventeen years of age were saleable, not having lost their docility, but the remainder were sent to the works in Egypt†, or distributed to the neighbour-

* Deut. xxviii. 68.

† Cassia is understood to be a sort of cinnamon, probably from the same shrub.—Heyne, *Tibull.*, I. iii. 61.

‡ Deuteronomy xxviii. 68. Jeremiah xlv. 7. Hos. viii. 13 ix. 3; xi. 5.

ing cities, as a supply for the arena, where they were exposed to wild beasts, or compelled to fight as gladiators, for the amusement of the populace.

The rocks on which Jerusalem stood, as well as many others in the Holy Land, were to a great extent excavated, and with much skill and ingenuity, if the sepulchres now shown as the sepulchres of the kings may be assumed for a specimen*. The subterranean galleries and chambers afforded access to the watering-places, & outlets on the parts flanked by precipices; and Dio states, that during the siege, sallies were made from them, till they were blocked up by Titus*. Josephus also informs us, that some of the besieged escaped by them^b. In these excavations, Simon and John, the leaders of the garrison or war-party, concealed themselves. John was starved out, and obliged to crave mercy, which he obtained in the commutation of perpetual imprisonment for death. Simon, some weeks afterwards, was driven by the same cause to surrender. He had carried with him to his hiding-place a store of provisions and tools for working the rock, in hopes of making his way to the open air; but unsuccessful in this, he was at last driven to show himself to the Romans, which he did, not at the part of the city

* The stone coffins are of the native rock, and worked within the chambers, being too big to be brought in at the door-way. The doors are stone, six inches thick, with stone hinges; they are as big as ordinary doors, and worked in panels.—Maundrell, p. 76. An attempt of Captains Irby and Mangles, with Mr. Banks and others, to explore further by removing rubbish, was stopped by the authorities.

^a Dio, lxxvi. 4.

^b Josephus, vol. ii., p. 419.

where he had descended, but on the site of the temple. He was led first to Terentius Rufus, and afterwards sent to Rome, where, having contributed to the glories of the triumphal procession, he was decapitated in the forum.

Jerusalem was desolated: the city, its walls and dwelling-houses, with the temple, were levelled so evenly with the ground, as to leave no trace to passers by of having ever been inhabited; three great towers only being allowed to stand, as a monument of the victory, and the western wall as a rampart for the tenth legion, which was left in camp there, under the command of Terentius Rufus.

The numbers which Josephus has recorded for killed and prisoners have been collected^c, and found to amount to 1,356,460 massacred in the war of Vespasian and Titus, with a total of prisoners, 101,700. It was altogether impossible for any one to learn the true numbers with accuracy, and these must be taken merely as the judgment of the Jewish historian, subject to the doubts which rest on all his statements, and the uncertainty which attends calculations made without sufficient data. Tacitus^d, from information received, reckons the besieged of every age and sex at 600,000, a number more proportionate to the extent of the city than the 1,100,000 killed and 97,000 prisoners which we find in the Jewish historian. In that place of Tacitus, however, some manu-

^c *History of the Jews*. London, vol. iii., p. 70.

^d Tacitus, *Hist.*, v. 13. Compare Eusebius in *Chronico*, and Orosius, vii. 9.

scripts read 200,000, and we may be allowed to agree with the estimate of Hecataeus of Abdera*, who, in the time of Ptolemy Soter, B.C. 300, gives Jerusalem a population of 120,000. Josephus may be right in saying, that as the siege began at the passover, the town was fuller than usual.

Josephus dwells, not with the sorrows of a patriot or the humility of a believer in Providence, but with the gratification of a client and dependant, upon the triumph of his patrons, Vespasian and Titus; the first on record, in which two generals united in one procession. The most curious part of the pomp was the representations of the war; lands plundered, battalions routed, walls overthrown by engines, castles captured, cities burnt. The most lamentable was the golden table, the seven-branched golden candlestick, and the copy of the Law from the temple at Jerusalem.

It remained, after everything was past, for Lucilius Bassus to reduce Herodium and Machærus, and for Flavius Silva to destroy Masada, fortresses of little consequence; after which the whole country of Judea was let as the private property of the emperor†, with the exception of the land about Emmaus; and that, according to Roman usage, was granted to eight hundred of the soldiery, who had served out their time in the army. The Jews were taxed two drachmæ each (fifteen pence), equivalent to the half shekel formerly due to the temple, but now payable to the capitol; that

* Apud Joseph., *Adv. Apion*, i. 22; vol. ii., p. 456.

† Ἰδίαν αὐτῷ τὴν χώραν φυλάττων. Vol. ii., p. 419.

is, as Dio explains it, to Jupiter Capitolinus, the patron god of Rome.

The poll tax was a fruitful source of annoyance and disquiet in the reign of Domitian^f, but the government was not disturbed. Nerva also, during his year of sovereignty, was not troubled by the Jews. But in the eighteenth year of Trajan, "the Jews, in different parts of the world, at one time, as if seized with madness, rose into insurrection^g." In Cyrene, headed by Andreas, they destroyed, according to Dio, Romans and Greeks,—fed on their flesh, made girdles of their bowels, smeared themselves with their blood, and clothed themselves with their skins: many they sawed in twain from the head downwards, others they gave to the wild beasts, or compelled to slay each other in single combat, so that in all two hundred and twenty thousand perished^h. The country was so utterly depopulated, that Hadrian restored it by colonies drawn from other quartersⁱ. In Egypt and in Cyprus, led by Artemion, they committed similar atrocities: in the latter place two hundred and forty thousand perished, and hence was enacted the law, that no Jew should set foot in Cyprus, even through stress of weather, on pain of death. The insurrection was suppressed, under Trajan's orders, by Quintus Lusius, by birth a Moor (*Maurus*): Martius Turbo is also named as having

^f Suetonius, *Domit.*, 12, where he relates what he was eyewitness of.

^g Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, iv. 2. Orosius, vii. 12.

^h Dio, LXviii. 32.

ⁱ Eusebius in *Chronico*. Syncellus, p. 349. Orosius, vii. 13.

reduced them to submission under Hadrian. Indeed, it appears that the troubles of Trajan's reign continued after his death till early in Hadrian's time, yet still distinct from the most serious and final war^k.

Hadrian, scattering municipal benefits to his provinces, resolved to restore the city of Jerusalem; but, unhappily, considered that the site of the house of God would be a convenient spot for a temple of Jupiter. The Jews, grievously offended at his placing an idol on their holy hill, and colonising^l their holy city with foreigners, rose in rebellion, under command of Cochebas, or Bar-Cochab, *the son of the star*^m, and, assisted by their brethren in all parts, maintained a war of some duration and some consequenceⁿ. They had no fortified towns to defend, but they availed themselves of their caves and subterranean galleries. In the attempt to force the Christians of Palestine to join them they were unsuccessful. Ticinius Rufus is said to have been governor of Judea at the outbreak^o. The first^p commander sent against them was Julius Severus, from Britain: he

^k Spartianus, in *Hadriano*. Eusebius, *Hist. Eccl.*, iv. 2, who seems to name Lucius Quietus for Quintus Lusius, and Λουκίος for Andreas in Cyrene.

^l Roman colonies were not the advance of civilised settlements into wild districts, but the usurpation of property by old soldiers, who thus received a sort of pension. Philippi was a colony of this sort: *κολωνία*. Acts xvi. 12.

^m Numb. xxiv. 17.

ⁿ Spartianus, in *Hadriano*, gives another reason: "Moverunt ea tempestate et Judæi bellum, quod vetabantur mutilare genitalia."

^o Euseb., in *Chronico Hadr.*, 16.

^p Dio, lxix. 13. Τοὺς κρατίστους τῶν στρατηγῶν ὁ Ἀδριανὸς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπέμψεν, ὧν πρῶτος Ἰ. Σ.

pursued a cautious yet sure method, overwhelming them by numbers, blockading and reducing them by famine. These slow tactics did not content the emperor, who removed Severus to Bithynia.

The war was brought to an end by other generals: 50 fortresses and 985 villages were destroyed; 580,000 men were killed, beside those that perished by famine, sickness, and fire. When thus, by the extremity of massacre (*ultima cæde*), so that scarcely a man survived (*vix quisquam sospes evaserit*), he had trampled the Jews into submission, the emperor gave his new city to the Christians, allowing no Jew to enter it, and called it after his own name, *Ælia*, a title long retained. The commencement of this final war is placed by Eusebius, in *Chronico*, in the sixteenth year of Hadrian (A.D. 133); its close in the nineteenth (A.D. 136); and its height in the eighteenth year of the emperor, when a place called Bither, near Jerusalem, was besieged^a. The capital itself, as would appear from the silence of Dio, was either in the keeping of the Romans, or at least not held by the insurgents. Rufus is said to have ploughed over the foundation of the temple, but this was a Jewish tradition^r, and may rather be referred to Terentius Rufus in the time of Titus; for at the later period, it was not devastation, but a new city and new temple, that was proposed. But it is asserted, though loosely, by Appian^s, a contemporary writer, that Jerusalem was destroyed by Hadrian.

^a Eusebius, in *Chronico*. *Hist. Eccl.*, iv. 6. Orosius, vii. 13.

^r Jerome, Zech. viii.

^s Appian, *Syriac.*, 50.

The Jews, from the time of their subjugation by Pompey, when the Romans first became acquainted with them, were held in great contempt among the heathen public. Philo, including himself, says they were classed not only with slaves, but with the meanest slaves: they were of no esteem, and abominable, even when the second book of Maccabees was compiled¹. Juvenal² describes them as driven from the city of Rome (by Domitian), and allowed to collect in the valley and sacred grove near Aricia, a settlement of beggars, with hay for a bed, and a basket (containing enough to save them from eating food polluted by Gentile touch), their only moveables. The females gained a little copper money by telling fortunes³. Martial also alludes to them, exchanging brimstone matches for broken glass⁴. Their circumcision, their holy days, and general superstition, are frequently subjects of railing and gibes. The Sabbath is termed a fast by Roman authors⁵, perhaps because nothing was cooked on that day.

It was probably on account of the ill odour in which the people were held, that neither Vespasian nor Titus would assume the title of Judaicus⁶.

¹ *Legat. ad Caium*, sec. 17.

² 2 Macc. i. 27.

³ *Juv., Sat.*, iii. 13.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vi. 543.

⁵ Martial, i. 42.

⁶ *Suet., Aug.*, 76. *Petron., Frag.*, xxxv. 6. *Justin.*, xxxvi. 2.

⁷ *Reimar, ad Dion.*, lxxvi. 7; cf. *Cic., ad Attic.*, ii. 9. Hierosolymarius for Pompey.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES.



JEWISH CHRONOLOGY.

Two periods undetermined, make Jewish Chronology uncertain: first, the Israelites were in Egypt either 430 or 215 years; and, secondly, there is a chasm in the time of the Judges. The following dates are given on the authority of Mr. CLINTON's *Fasti*, vol. i., p. 320.

	B.C.
Adam	4138
The Deluge	2482
Birth of Abraham	2130
Call of Abraham	2055
Exodus	1625
Death of Moses.	1585
First Servitude	1558
Death of Eli	1128
Election of Saul May or June,	1096
David	1056
Solomon	1016
Rehoboam May,	976
Invasion of Shishak, king of Egypt	972
Abijah	959
Asa	956
Jehoshaphat	915
Jehoram	891
Ahaziah	884
Athaliah	883
Joash	877
Amaziah	837
Uzziah May,	808
Jotham	756
Ahaz	741
Hezekiah	726
Sennacherib, king of Assyria, invades Judea	713

	B.C.
Manasseh	697
Amos	642
Josiah	May, 640
Jeremiah begins to prophesy	628
Jehoahaz	May, 609
Jehoiakim	August, 609
Expedition of Nebuchadnezzar—Captivity begins	606
Jehoiachin	March, 598
Zedekiah	June, 598
Jerusalem taken by Nebuchadnezzar	587
Captivity ends two years after the capture of Babylon by Cyrus	536

KINGS OF ISRAEL.

Jeroboam, son of Nebat	976
Nadab	955
Baasha, son of Ahijah	953
Elah	930
Zimri, captain of Elah's chariots	930
Omri, captain of the host to Elah	930
Ahab	919
Ahaziah	896
Joram	895
Jehu, son of Jehoshaphat, son of Nimshi	883
Jehoahaz	855
Jehoash	839
Jeroboam II.	823
Interregnum of eleven years : but query.	
Zachariah	771
Shallum, son of Jabesh	770
Menahem, son of Gadi	770
Pekaiah	759
Pekah, son of Remaliah	757
Interregnum of nine years.	
Hoshea, son of Elah	739
Samaria taken by the Assyrians	721

KINGS OF EGYPT*. (PHARAOKS KNOWN TO THE GREEKS.)

	B.C.
Psammitichus	699 or 670
Necos, or Pharaoh Necho	616
Psammis	600
Apries, or Pharaoh Hophra	594
Amasis	569
Psammenitus, six months	525
Conquest by the Persians, under Cambyes	525

KINGS OF PERSIA.

Cyrus in Persia	559
——- conquers Lydia	546
————- Babylon	538
Cambyes	529
Smerdis	522
Darius Hystaspis filius	521
Xerxes	485
Artabanus, seven months	} 465
Artaxerxes Longimanus	
Xerxes II., two months	} 425
Sogdianus, seven months	
Darius Nothus	424
Artaxerxes Mnemon	405
Ochus	359
Arses	338
Darius Codomannus	336
Alexander	331
Philip Aridæus	323

* Clinton's *Fasti*, vol. i., anno 616.

KINGS OF SYRIA* (MACEDONIANS).

	B.C.
1. Antigonus (the one-eyed)	318
2. Demetrius Poliorcetes Antig. f., no years.	
1. Seleucus Nicator (over Syria)	301
2. Antiochus Soter	280
3. Antiochus Theus	261
4. Seleucus Callinicus	246
5. Seleucus Ceraunus	236
6. Antiochus Magnus	223
7. Seleucus Philopator	187
8. Antiochus Epiphanes	175
9. Antiochus Eupator	164
10. Demetrius Soter	162
(a.) Alexander Bala	150
11. Demetrius Nicator	146
(b.) Antiochus Alex. f. and Trypho	
Demetrius taken prisoner in Parthia	138
12. Antiochus Sidetes	137
— dies	128
(11.) Demetrius Nicator returned from captivity	128
13. Antiochus Grypus	125
14. Antiochus Cyzicenus	
15. Antiochus Eusebes	95
16. Philippus	
(c.) Tigranes, king of Armenia	83
17. Antiochus Asiaticus	69
(d.) Pompey occupies Syria as part of the dominions of Tigranes	65

KINGS OF EGYPT† (MACEDONIAN DYNASTY).

Ptolemy Soter Lagi f.	323
Ptolemy Philadelphus Soteris f.	283
Ptolemy Euergetes Philadelphi f.	247
Ptolemy Philopator Euergetæ f.	222

* Clinton's *Fasti*, vol. iii., p. 348.† *Ibid.* vol. iii., p. 378 to 400.

	B.C.
Ptolemy Epiphanes Philopatoris f. . . .	205
Ptolemy Philometor Epiphanis f. . . .	181
Ptolemy Euergetes II.=Physcon, jointly with and opposed to his brother Philometor — after Philometor's death,	
alone	146
Ptolemy Soter II.=Lathyrus Physconis f., with Cleopatra, his own mother, and with Alex- ander, his own brother. Cleopatra dies,	
89. Lathyrus dies, 81	117
Alexander Alexandri f.	81
Ptolemy Auletes=Dionysus Lathyri f. . . .	80
Cleopatra Auletæ filia, the mistress of Antony, with two brothers successively	51
Cleopatra's death. Egypt a Roman province	30

THE MACCABEES.

	B.C.
The temple prophaned by Epiphanes	Dec. 168—Jan. 167
The temple restored by Judas	Dec. 165—Jan. 164
Death of Judas	156
Jonathan made high-priest	152
Simon	142
Hyrcanus	135
Aristobulus	105
Alexander Jannæus	104
Alexandra	78
Hyrcanus	69
The temple taken by Pompey	63
Herod the Great	40
Jerusalem taken by Sosius	38
Death of Herod	March, 4
Deposition of Archelaus	A.D. 6

TABLE OF THE PRESIDENTS OF SYRIA*.

		U.C.	A.C.
1.	Scaurus, <i>by Pompey the Great</i>	691	... 6
2.	(L.) Marcius Philippus, <i>ex prætura</i>	about 693	... 61
3.	(Cn. Corn.) Lentulus Marcellinus, <i>ex prætura</i>	695	... 59
4.	Aulus Gabinius, <i>ex consulari</i>	697	... 57
5.	Marcus Licinius Crassus, <i>ex consulari</i>	700	... 54
6.	C. Cassius	701	... 53
7.	Marcus Calpurnius Bibulus, <i>ex consulari</i>	702	... 52
8.	Q. Cæcilius Metell. Pius Scipio, <i>ex consulari</i>	705	... 49
9.	Sextus Julius Cæsar, <i>by Julius Cæsar</i>	707	... 47
10.	Q. Cæcilius Bassus	709	... 45
11.	C. Cassius, <i>ex prætura</i>	710	... 44
12.	Decidius Saxa, <i>by Antony</i>	713	... 41
13.	P. Ventidius, <i>by Antony</i>	715	... 39
14.	C. Sosius, <i>by Antony</i>	about 716	... 38
15.	L. Munatius Plancus, <i>by Antony</i>	about 719	... 35
16.	L. Calpurnius Bibulus, <i>by Antony</i>	about 721	... 33
17.	Quintus Didius, <i>by Antony</i>	about 722	... 32
18.	M. Val. Messalla Corvinus, <i>by Octavianus</i>	about 724	... 30
19.	Varro, <i>by Augustus</i>	about 727	... 27
20.	M. Vipsanius Agrippa, <i>by Augustus</i>	731	... 20
21.	M. Tullius Cicero	about 734	... 20
22.	M. Vipsanius Agrippa	738	... 16
23.	M. Titius	about 742	... 12
24.	C. Sentius Saturninus	about 746	... 8
25.	P. Quinctilius Varus	750	... 4
		U.C.	A.D.
26.	L. Volusius Saturninus	about 755	... 2
27.	P. Sulpicius Quirinus	760	... 7
28.	Q. Cæcilius Metellus Creticus Silanus	765	... 12
29.	Cn. Piso, <i>by Tiberius</i>	770	... 17
30.	Cn. Sentius	772	... 19
31.	L. Pomponius Flaccus Græcinus	about 775	... 22
32.	L. Vitellius	787	... 34
33.	P. Petronius Turpilianus, <i>by Caius Caligula</i>	792	... 39

* From Gresswell's *Dissertations on the Harmony of the Gospels*.

		U.C.	A.D.
34.	Vibius Marsus, <i>by Claudius</i>	about 795	... 42
35.	C. Cassius Longinus	about 797	... 44
36.	T. Ummidius Quadratus	about 802	... 49
37.	Cn. Domitius Corbulo, <i>by Nero</i>	813	... 60
38.	C. Cestius Gallus Camerinus	about 818	... 65
39.	M. Licinius Crassus Mucianus	820	... 67
40.	Cæsennius Pætus, <i>by Vespasian</i>	824	... 71
41.	(M.) Ulpus Trajanus, <i>pater</i>	about 829	... 76

PROCURATORS OF JUDEA*.

		A.D.
1.	Coponius, <i>by Augustus</i>	7
2.	Marcus Ambivius	about 10
3.	Annius Rufus	about 13
4.	Valerius Gratus, <i>by Tiberius</i>	15
5.	Pontius Pilatus	26
6.	Marcellus, <i>by Vitellius, pr. of Syria</i>	36
7.	Maryllus, <i>by Caius Caligula</i>	37
8.	Capito: cf. Dio Lix. 25	about 38
	King Agrippa	41
9.	Cuspius Fadus, <i>by Claudius</i>	44
10.	Tiberius Alexander	about 46
11.	Ventidius Cumanus	about 48
12.	Antonius Felix	about 50
13.	Porcius Festus, <i>by Nero</i>	58
14.	Albinus	62
15.	Gessius Florus	64
16.	M. Antonius Julianus, <i>probably by Vespasian</i>	about 70
17.	Liberius Maximus	about 72

* See Gresswell's *Dissertations*.

JEWISH WAR.

- A.D.
66. Lotis 17. The Antonia taken by the Jews.
 — Hyperberetæus 30. Cestius encamps before Jerusalem.
 — Dius 8. Cestius' defeat.
67. Panemus 1. Iotapata taken.
 — Tiberias and Tarichæa taken.
 — Hyperberetæus 23. Gamala taken.
 — Gischala taken.
 — Dystrus 4. Gadara taken.
68. Till Dæsius 2. Vespasian in Idumea.
 — April 3. Galba emperor.
 — June 9. Nero's death.
69. January 15. Galba's death. Otho emperor.
 — January 2. Vitellius emperor.
 — April 16. Otho's death.
 — July 1. Vespasian emperor.
70. December 21. Vitellius' death.
 — Xanthicus 14. Passover. Titus encamps against Jerusalem.
 — Xanthicus 23. Works begun.
 — Artemisius 7. First wall gained.
 — ————12. Breach made in second wall.
 — ————29. Mounds finished to attack Antonia.
 — Dæsius 1. Works destroyed by Jews.
 — Panemus 1. New works finished.
 — ———— 5. Antonia taken.
 — ————24. Outer porticoes of the temple burnt.
 — Lotis 10. Temple burnt.
 — ————20. Works begun against Sion.
 — Gorpiaeus 7. Works finished against Sion.
 — ———— 8. Last wall taken.
79. June 23. Death of Vespasian.
81. September 13. Death of Titus.
96. ———— 18. Death of Domitian.
98. January 27. Death of Nerva.

- 117. The Jews in Africa, &c., rise.
 - 117. August 11. Death of Trajan.
 - 118. The Jews reduced to submission.
 - 133. The Jews of Palestine rebel.
 - 136. The Jewish war closed by the extermination of the
Jews of Palestine.
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JEWISH AND MACEDONIAN MONTHS.

10th Tebeth	. 3rd Audynæus	. December and January.
11th Shebat	. 4th Peritius	. January and February.
12th Adar	. 5th Dystrus	. February and March.
1st Nisan	. 6th Xanthicus	. March and April.
2nd Ijar or Zif	. 7th Artemisius	. April and May.
3rd Sivan	. 8th Dæsius	. May and June.
4th Thamuz	. 9th Panemus	. June and July.
5th Ab	. 10th Lous	. July and August.
6th Elul	. 11th Gorpæus	. August and September.
7th Tisri	. 12th Hyperberetæus	. September and October.
8th Marchesvan.	1st Dios	. October and November.
9th Casleu	. 2nd Apellæus	. November & December.

THE END.

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